Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-174
Friday
10 September 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-174 *10 September 1993*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSCE's Minsk Group Begins Talks on Karabakh in Moscow *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Nordic Foreign Ministers on Troop Withdrawal From Baltics *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 2 Sep]* 1
International Conference Discusses Tumen River Project *[Vladivostok Radio]* 1

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Black Sea Fleet Personnel Support Accords *[UNIAR]* 2
Ruble Zone Agreement Seen Leading to 'New Unity' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Sep]* 2
Industrialists, Peasants Call For Aid to Countryside *[PRAVDA 9 Sep]* 2
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 10 Sep 3

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Grachev Continues Visit to Washington 5
Signs Memorandum *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Comments on Peace Forces *[Moscow TV]* 5
Outlines Concept of Military Doctrine *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
Implementation of U.S. Aid Package Assessed *[IZVESTIYA 2 Sep]* 6
Turkey's Ciller Signs Agreements, Notes 'Useful' Meetings *[Ankara TV]* 7
Meets With Khasbulatov *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Welcomes New Stage in Relations *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Meets With Yeltsin *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Holds News Conference *[Ankara TV]* 8
Views Transcaucasus Situation *[IZVESTIYA 10 Sep]* 9
Departs; Chernomyrdin Hails Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Kozyrev Voices Support for Israel-PLO Agreement *[IZVESTIYA 9 Sep]* 10
Kozyrev Meets Afghan Leaders; Visits Afghan-Tajik Border *[Moscow TV]* 10
Returns, Comments on Tajikistan Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Shaposhnikov Appointed Ambassador to New Zealand *[Radio Rossii]* 11
Ministry Condemns Reports *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Shaposhnikov Denies Reports *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Yugoslav Foreign Minister Departs Moscow for Belgrade *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 11
Black Sea Fleet General Staff in Favor of Single Fleet *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
Delegation to Talks With Ukraine Appointed *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
Joint Communique Signed After Aliyev's Visit *[Baku International]* 12
Iranian Role in Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict Assessed *[Moscow International]* 13
Libyan Envoy Urges 'Dialogue' on Lockerbie Suspects *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 8 Sep]* 13
DPRK 'Prepared To Allow' Military Site Inspection *[Moscow International]* 14
Burbulis Urges Fair Solution to Territorial Dispute *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Warns Against Hasty Decisions *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
China's Li Peng Comments on Bilateral Ties *[Radio Rossii]* 15
Chinese Attend Arms Exhibition 'in Droves' *[AFP]* 15
Foreign Ministry Official on 'Alarming' Nicaragua Situation *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Foreign Ministry Authorized To Sign Accord With OAS *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 1 Sep]* 16
U.S. Concept of NATO Criticized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Sep]* 16
Trade Policy Memorandum To Be Submitted to GATT *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 9 Sep]* 17
Need for 'Friends' in CIS, World Emphasized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 8 Sep]* 18

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Media Issues

Yeltsin Sets Up Constitutional Working Group *[ITAR-TASS]* 20
Yeltsin Suffers Back Pain; Spanish Surgeon Invited *[ITAR-TASS]* 20
Yeltsin Inclined To Move 'Radically' Against Parliament *[IZVESTIYA 10 Sep]* 21
Presidential Election Campaign Viewed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 10 Sep]* 23
Democratic Russia's 'Chameleon-Like Tactics' Assailed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 31 Aug]* 24
Accord for Fatherland Group Outlines Program *[IZVESTIYA 9 Sep]* 26
Splits Within National Salvation Front Discussed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 7 Sep]* 26
Burbulis Reaffirms Support of Yeltsin, 'Radical Reforms' *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 7 Sep]* 27
Views Elections, Corruption *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 8 Sep]* 29
Former FIS Official Interviewed on Intelligence Activities
[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Sep] 32
Media Officials Oppose Proposed Federal Council *[Russian TV]* 34
New Travel Regulations Detailed *[IZVESTIYA 1 Sep]* 34

Economic Issues

Government Discusses Fuel Problems, Economics Ministry *[Moscow TV]* 36
Fails To Agree on Lobov's Proposals *[Moscow Radio]* 36
Officials Differ on Privatization *[IZVESTIYA 8 Sep]* 37
Central Bank Says Foreign Debt Reaches $72.5 Billion *[Russian TV]* 38
Bad Weather Hits Harvest; Sugar Shortfall Expected *[Moscow TV]* 38

Military Issues

Deputy Defense Minister Meets Enterprise, Union Leaders *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Sep]* 38
Official Comments on Defense Industry Conversion, Sales *[ITAR-TASS]* 39
Shokhin Views Future of Defense Industry Exports *[ITAR-TASS]* 39
Grachev Lauds Military Finance Service *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Sep]* 40
Airborne Troops Conduct Exercises *[Moscow TV]* 40
Air Show Highlights Aircraft, Space Industries *[Russian TV]* 40

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov 'Ready' for Dialogue With Yeltsin *[ITAR-TASS]* 41
Parliament To Reconsider Draft Laws on Banking *[ITAR-TASS]* 41
Restrictions on Foreign Banks Opposed *[Moscow Radio]* 41
Pochinok, Finance Ministry Discuss Budget Issues *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 9 Sep]* 41
Voronin Gives 'Expert Opinion' on Budget *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 26 Aug]* 42
Voronin Meets Trade Union Leaders *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 7 Sep]* 44
Commission Chair Discusses Media Law *[Russian TV]* 44

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportedly Parades SS-20 Missile Launcher *[Russian TV]* 44
Karelian Supreme Soviet Rejects Federation Council Plan *[PRAVDA 9 Sep]* 44
Shakhray To Discuss Federation Council in Novosibirsk *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
Bashkortostan's Economic Ties Bypass Center *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
Omsk City, Oblast at Odds Over Payment to Budget *[IZVESTIYA 9 Sep]* 45
Gaydar Discusses Economy, Elections in Omsk *[Radio Rossii]* 46
Moscow Government Opposes Freedom of Movement Law *[Russian TV]* 46
Vorkuta Miners Continue Strike Action *[ITAR-TASS]* 46
Soskovets Visits Far East, Discusses Economic Issues 47
Maritime Kray Nuclear Submarine Plant Attempts Conversion *[Russian TV]* 48

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Kravchuk Urges Flexibility on Black Sea Fleet, Crimea *[ITAR-TASS]* 50
Morozov in Sevastopol, Comments on Fleet Sale *[IZVESTIYA 9 Sep]* 50
Parliamentary Body Voices Reservations on Crimean Pact *[UNIAR]* 50
Lvov Assembly Denounces Results of Talks *[Kiev International]* 50
Kuchma Hopes for Resumption of Oil Deliveries *[ITAR-TASS]* 51
Comments on Fuel Supplies *[UNIAR]* 51
Legislative Committee Drafts Proposals on Tripartite Union *[Kiev Radio]* 51

National Affairs

'Text' of Leonid Kuchma's Resignation Statement *[Kiev International]* 52
Kharkov Official Possible Successor *[UNIAR]* 52
Cabinet of Ministers Holds Session *[Kiev International]* 52
Kravchuk Replies to Questions on Economy *[UNIAN]* 53
Temporary Stabilization of Karbovanets Noted *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 8 Sep]* 54
Western Area Strikes Aim To Bring Down Government *[ITAR-TASS]* 54
Radiation Rumors at Dneprodzerzhinsk Plant Refuted *[Moscow TV]* 54

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Kebich Notes Importance of Russia as Economic Partner *[ITAR-TASS]* 56
Koslovskiy on Belarus' Place in Collective Security *[ITAR-TASS]* 56
Good Grain Harvest Despite Economic Difficulties *[Minsk International]* 56

Moldova

Snegur Lays Wreaths on National Army Day *[BASAPRESS]* 57
Envoy to Moscow Urges Economic Integration in CIS *[ITAR-TASS]* 57
General Lebed's Decision To Run for Deputy Criticized *[BASAPRESS]* 57
Trade Unions Demand Compensation for Price Increases *[BASAPRESS]* 57
Parliament Lifts Ban on Communist Party *[ITAR-TASS]* 57

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Russia's Chernomyrdin Arrives on 4-Day Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 58
Meets With Nazarbayev *[Moscow TV]* 58
Nazarbayev on State's Loss of Economic Control Levers *[PRAVDA 8 Sep]* 58

Kyrgyzstan

Russian Foreign Minister Arrives on Working Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 58

Tajikistan

Kozyrev Urges Tajik Authorities, Opposition To Talk *[ITAR-TASS]* 58
Gives News Conference *[ITAR-TASS]* 59
Russian Border Guards Fired on at Border *[ITAR-TASS]* 59
Fires, Explosions at Russian Ammunition Dumps *[ITAR-TASS]* 60
Russian Border Troops Commander on Situation, Call Up *[Moscow TV]* 60
Rakhmanov Receives Afghan Delegation *[Dushanbe Radio]* 60
Rakhmanov Grants Interview on Independence Day *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 9 Sep]* 61
Further on 'Conversation' *[Moscow TV]* 61

Uzbekistan

European Commission Opens Office in Tashkent *[UZBEKISTAN APN]* 62

CAUCASUS

Armenia

'Text' of Protest Over Ukrainian Arms Supply to Azerbaijan *[Yerevan Radio]* 63
Foreign Minister Replies to Christopher Letter on Karabakh *[Radio Rossii]* 63
Foreign Minister, Iranian Envoy Discuss Karabakh *[ITAR-TASS]* 63
Commentary Views Diplomatic 'Offensive' Against Karabakh *[Yerevan International]* 63
Situation Reportedly 'Relatively Peaceful' *[Yerevan Radio]* 64
Opposition Parties Compile 'Alternative' Constitution *[SNARK]* 64

Azerbaijan

Aliyev's 8 Sep Moscow News Conference Viewed *[PRAVDA 9 Sep]* 64
Keeps 'Silent' on Some Issues *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Sep]* 65
Returns From Moscow Trip *[Baku Radio]* 66
Former Envoy to Russia Appeals to Ministry After Beating *[TURAN]* 66
Foreign Ministry Statement Views Remarks by Ter-Petrosyan *[Baku Radio]* 66
Armenian Attacks in Zangelanskiy Updated *[TURAN]* 66

Georgia

Fifth Round of Russian-Georgian Talks Begin 66
Russians Seen Lacking 'Clear' Program *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 8 Sep]* 66
Some Agreements Complete *[IBERIA]* 67
Head of UN Military Observer Group Arrives in Abkhazia *[ITAR-TASS]* 67
Government Discusses Cooperation With Germany's Siemens *[Tbilisi Radio]* 67
Foreign Minister Chikvaidze Arrives in Austria *[ITAR-TASS]* 67
Negotiations Between Supreme Council, Ajarian Leadership *[Tbilisi Radio]* 68
Council Chairman Comments on Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 68
Ajaria's Abashidze Grants Interview *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 8 Sep]* 68
'Starving' Tkibuli Miners Go on Strike *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 3 Sep]* 70
Miners End Strike *[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY]* 70
National Democrats Demand Strict Measures on Law, Order *[Tbilisi Radio]* 71
First Higher Military School Opens in Tbilisi *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 3 Sep]* 71
Poll Shows Attitude to Parliament, Opposition *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 3 Sep]* 71

BALTIC STATES

Latvia

Russian Navy Chief Ends Visit to Latvia *[Riga Radio]* 72
Spokesman Offers To Resume Talks With Russia Early *[Riga Radio]* 72
UN Conclusions on Russian Withdrawal From Baltics *[Riga Radio]* 72
Pope John Paul II Arrives in Riga *[LETA]* 72

Lithuania

President in Hospital for 'Further Treatment' *[ELTA NEWS BULLETIN]* 72
Editorial Notes Link Between Russian Withdrawal, U.S. Aid *[RESPUBLIKA 2 Sep]* 72
Budget Committee Chairman Criticizes Central Bank Policy *[RESPUBLIKA 2 Sep]* 73

CSCE's Minsk Group Begins Talks on Karabakh in Moscow

LD0909172993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1512 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Barykin]

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—Informal consultations on Nagorno-Karabakh, in which representatives of nine member-states of CSCE's Minsk group are taking part, started behind closed doors in Moscow on Thursday [9 September].

In the course of the meeting, a schedule of urgent measures to be taken to reach the peaceful settlement of the conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh was worked out in compliance with the United Nations Security Council's Resolutions Nos. 882 and 853.

According to the plan, military operations are to be stopped for 60 days. This period will be used to begin the withdrawal of Karabakh troops from the occupied territories and step up negotiations.

On the eve of the consultations, Karabakh authorities announced the withdrawal of Nagorno-Karabakh army troops from the Kubatli district of Azerbaijan. The warring parties emphasized in various statements the great importance of the current meeting of the CSCE's Minsk group in Moscow.

The meeting of nine CSCE's Minsk group members chaired by the Italian representative was joined at 15.00 today by representatives of the conflicting and interested parties and a Karabakh delegation.

The informal consultations will last until September 11.

Nordic Foreign Ministers on Troop Withdrawal From Baltics

PM0709150993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 93 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Foreign Ministers' Meeting"]

[Text] Stockholm, 1 Sep—A meeting of the foreign ministers of the Nordic countries and the Baltic states opened on the Swedish island of Gotland Tuesday [31 August]. Sweden's TT agency reports that at the first session, which was held at the island's administrative center of Visby, considerable attention was devoted to the problem of the Russian troop withdrawal from the territory of the Baltic countries. The agreement between the Russian and Lithuanian presidents, which has led to a complete Russian troop withdrawal on schedule, was positively assessed. Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha Af Ugglas expressed the hope that this step would promote peace and stability in the entire Baltic region. She advocated talks between Russia and Latvia and Estonia on the withdrawal of troops from the territories of those states as well.

Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste announced on his arrival at Visby that Russia and Estonia had agreed to hold such talks 14 and 15 September. In his opinion, the withdrawal could take place before the end of this year. An agreement to hold similar talks has also been reached with Latvia, TT noted.

The problems of a Near East settlement will be discussed by a small circle of Nordic foreign ministers at today's session.

International Conference Discusses Tumen River Project

OW0809142993 Vladivostok Radio Vladivostok Network in Russian 0210 GMT 8 Sep 93

[From the "Lunch Hour Break" program]

[Text] An international conference on the Tumen River project—attended by delegations from Russia, South Korea, China, Mongolia and the DPRK—opened in Vladivostok where specialists met to discuss telecommunications. The main topic of the two-day discussion will be the possibility of connecting a fiber optic cable which will pass through Russia, Japan, and South Korea to a tandem communication center of the Tumen River project in Vladivostok. Experts believe that in spite of the possible difficulties in placing the communication line, this variant is very promising and should be examined and researched in detail.

(Leon Van Gumpi), a UN relations consultant, opened the conference. He noted: We have to discuss a lot of complicated issues so we can finally reach a common view. At the same time, the interested sides should not forget that the fate of the project and the prosperity of the Asian Pacific region depends on coordination of joint activities.

Black Sea Fleet Personnel Support Accords

LD1009102693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0745 GMT 10 Sep 93

[Text] Sevastopol, 9 Sep—Black Sea Fleet Commander Admiral Eduard Baltin has sent a telegram to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, and Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch. The telegram says that the situation in the Black Sea Fleet now is generally stable and that the fleet is under control and combat ready. The telegram points out in particular that "the overwhelming majority of the officer personnel, warrant and petty officers and seamen appreciate a positive breakthrough perceptible at the interstate negotiations on the fate of the Black Sea Fleet."

At the same time, surface ships' officers assemblies have made an appeal to Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. It says that the crews of surface ships are in favor of the Crimean agreements on the Black Sea Fleet. The appeal reads as follows: "We ask you to demonstrate steadfastness and consistency in following up the decisions made. Appropriate measures have to be taken now without procrastination, which in every way will find support among the personnel of our force."

Ruble Zone Agreement Seen Leading to 'New Unity'

PM0909154793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 1

[Oleg Odnokolenko article: "If There Is One Ruble for All of Us, Does This Mean that We Will All Have a Single State?"]

[Text] It seems that we have nevertheless retraced our steps somewhat since the rift that occurred in Belovezhskaya Forest. A ceremony took place in Moscow the day before yesterday for the signing of an agreement on practical measures to create a new type of ruble zone. It was signed by representatives of the governments of Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Armenia. Right at the last moment when it was, as the saying goes, in the process of being signed, Belarus and Tajikistan became party to the agreement. Belarusian Prime Minister Stanislav Kebich arrived in Moscow on a working visit literally the next day. His business was the same. It is expected that Russia and Tajikistan will sign a bilateral agreement as early as in two weeks' time, stipulating that the Russian ruble in its 1993 denomination will be used as legal means of payment in both their territories.

The agreement, which has been signed by six parties, is designed to serve as a framework. This means that the transition to a single monetary system as used by Russia will be regulated, as it will be with Uzbekistan, by bilateral agreements. But even in the "six's agreement," fairly strict norms for cooperation in the field of currency and the economy have been established. On the whole, it is a question of all the states bringing their legislation in line with that of Russia. But at the same time you cannot help but notice that the Russian laws themselves are still as yet far from perfect. Nevertheless, inasmuch as you can base your judgment about this on the sheer fact that the agreement was signed, they seem to be preferable. Which once more confirms: The economic crisis in Russia is far from being quite as fatal as it is in other nearby foreign states.

In the meantime, Russia, which has for completely objective reasons offered its ruble as the sole means of payment, is not going through the best of times. A few days ago the contents of an official memorandum to the president by Oleg Lobov, Russian Federation first vice premier and minister of the economy, were divulged with the assistance of BIZNES-TASS. It notes in particular that the stringent restrictions on finance, the narrowing of the range of social payments, and the strict limits on the issue of credits have not led to inflation being kept down. It has risen again and went over the 30-percent mark in August. The minister of the economy is proposing measures in this situation which are in many respects comparable to those which the parliamentary opposition put forward at the same time as criticizing the government. But these are matters specifically affecting the Russians now. Whatever might be the case here, it is said that the "great economic truth" lies somewhere in between...

The "union of the six" is also evidence of a great compromise. Probably no one has any more illusions about foreign countries helping in any way the states which were at one time united within the USSR. We will have to resolve our problems on our own. First of all we will have a single currency, then closer cooperation. It is not to be regretted that the new unity is being created not on the basis of a "single ideology" but on that of mutual economic interest. Maybe now we will see more value in what we had before. Let the ruble help us.

Industrialists, Peasants Call For Aid to Countryside

PM0909123593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Enough Devastation of the Countryside"]

[Text] A. Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs [RUIE], and V. Starodubtsev, chairman of the CIS Peasants Union and chairman of the Russian Agrarian Union, have sent an open letter to B. Yeltsin and V. Chernomyrdin and to the heads of state and government of the CIS states.

We have been compelled to send you this message by alarm for the catastrophic situation which is taking shape in agriculture and other links of the agro-industrial complex of Russia and the other CIS states. During the

reforms the countryside has been in a most difficult position. There is a decline in agricultural production and the technical destruction of the countryside and lack of money are ensuing.

For three years in succession now the farms have in fact acquired none of the equipment and fertilizers they need. This year a grain harvest of 120-125 million tonnes is expected in Russia but 100,000 fewer tractors, 30,000 fewer combine harvesters, and 15,000 fewer mowers than last year are taking part in the harvest. The same is happening in other CIS countries.

It is an axiom of world practice that the agrarian sector of any civilized country does not exist anywhere without state support. We explained the failures of the previous agrarian policy mainly by the fact that funds were being pumped out of the countryside. But this pernicious practice is continuing even now. The discrepancy in prices for agricultural and industrial output has reached colossal proportions.

The decisions made on granting the Russian Federation's private farms and collective and state farms preferential credit with an interest rate of 25 percent have not been fulfilled.

If we want to create a reliable life support system for the states and feed our people, we must always help the peasant in every respect, the states' prosperity depends on it. The RUIE, the International Congress of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs which it created and has 21 member countries, and the CIS Peasants Union have launched vigorous actions to set up horizontal sharing relations between workers of the agrarian sector and industry within the framework of Russia and the CIS states. But these efforts are not enough. It is necessary to use the experience of the world's civilized countries to restructure the state's structural, investment, and tax policy to benefit the countryside, giving it real and compulsory priority. The parity of prices for industrial and agricultural output must be ensured, an effective mechanism must be elaborated for implementing them, and joint-stock associations to deliver this output to consumers must be created on a voluntary basis. It is essential to examine the opportunity of lowering taxes levied on collective and state farms and peasants' private farms.

The authors of the letter urged the heads of state and government of the CIS countries to do everything necessary to create highly productive agrarian sectors capable of supplying foods for the population and raw material for industry.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 10 Sep

LD1009055793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0444 GMT 10 Sep 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—"Chernomyrdin or Lobov. That is the question for Yeltsin and for Chernomyrdin" is the headline under which NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) frontpages an analytical article about the discussion of the role of the Ministry of Economics in the determination of the state's overall economic policy at Thursday's meeting of the Russian Government Presidium.

The author of the article believes that Economics Minister Oleg Lobov now seems to be "the major favourite of President Boris Yeltsin" and that his desire to revive a single mechanism regulating and adjusting (the work of other governmental agencies, the state property committee and the Ministry of Finance) is a "political vector" which is serious enough.

"Oleg Lobov is in obvious confrontation with Viktor Chernomyrdin and his promotion is, possibly, Boris Yeltsin's defensive measure against the premier who is gaining political weight and independence", the journalist observes.

Reporting the results of Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller's visit to Moscow, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA emphasises the accords reached between the two sides on the supply of Russian natural gas and coal to Turkey as well as an intention to organise a session of a joint working group, which will include representatives from Russia, Turkey, the United States, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan, in the capital of Turkey soon to discuss the idea of building a transcontinental oil trunkline to run from Azerbaijan to Europe.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), commenting on the situation in western Georgia, points out that the region "is about to turn into yet another 'hot spot' on the Republic's territory after South Ossetia and Abkhazia".

"Forces loyal to ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and led by Colonel Loti Kobalia, chief of his bodyguards, have 'invested' Poti (their strength, according to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is 1,300). Abasha, Senaki and Hobi have been in their hands for two weeks already," the newspaper reports.

Tbilisi is seriously concerned, and not without reason, over the situation that has taken shape in western Georgia, the author of the article notes. According to him, Loti Kobalia stated that, if necessary, his detachments would reach Tbilisi as well. In so doing he asserts that one third of the army which is withdrawing from Abkhazia is on his side, "for it is dissatisfied with the way the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict has been tackled".

In the 1940s British cipher specialists unsuspectingly worked for Moscow, according to an article published in today's KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. The author of the article reports that supersecret information which british cryptanalysts obtained from German communication lines during the Second World War used to turn up in Moscow as well. It was delivered through Soviet agents in Britain, who had access to such information.

TRUD highlights the development of relations between Russia and Ukraine and the destiny of the Black Sea Fleet. The newspaper points out that Russian President Boris Yeltsin instructed a state delegation of Russia to hold talks with Ukraine on the implementation of the accords, reached in Yalta on September 3, this year, during the meeting of the two countries' presidents, about settling the problems of the Black Sea Fleet.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA frontpages an article headlined "Russian President Boris Yeltsin Will Not Quit His Post Before 1996". The author of the article, Vyacheslav Kostikov, points out that there are now quite a number of contenders for the post in .he Russian Federation, which signifies the emergence of a real "political elite" in the country.

Russia slowly but steadily "is getting out of the economic and political crisis". But the emergence of contenders for the presidency in the political arena imposes "high and mutual responsibility" on them, he writes.

The struggle of mafia-like structures for power is one of the main topics of the interview with Sergey Glazyev, Russian minister for foreign economic relations, in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

In response to the interviewer's remark that when speaking about such struggle Glazyev had openly mentioned the name of First Vice- Premier Vladimir Shumeyko as well as some members of the government staff, the minister explained that he "spoke only about resistance by some entrepreneurial entities (including those in the state sector), which the mfer came to feel as soon as the ministry attempted to regularise the export of raw materials and in general put things right in foreign trade".

PRAVDA carries an article by Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the executive committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, who analyses the present-day difficult situation in the country. His opinion is that the state is being wrecked "in a thought-out and consistent manner on the plea of struggle against socialism in implementation of a plan to remove Russia from the geopolitical arena".

"we are now the last force in the world capable of resisting the establishment of a 'new world order', and of a global cosmopolitan dictatorship. Therefore we must in a similar thought-out way and purposefully couteract the wreckers. For that, the unity of natioal forces is necessary as the breath of life", Zyuganov writes.

Grachev Continues Visit to Washington

Signs Memorandum

LD0909195993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1617 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Text] Washington, 9 Sep—I anticipate that this visit will enable our military departments to work more closely together, not only at the level of defense ministers or the general staff, but at all other levels too, stated Russian Defense Minister General Pavel Grachev, who is here on an official visit, in an interview for ITAR-TASS and "Ostankino" television correspondents. During this visit the head of the Russian military department and his American colleague Les Aspin signed a memorandum on mutual understanding.

As the minister noted, the meetings being held in Washington are aimed at getting to know each other better and at establishing closer cooperation. In many ways conducive to this is the signed document that specifically sets out the spheres of bilateral partnership, starting with troop units and educational establishments, and concluding with such spheres as culture, sports, and science. The memorandum provides for a more intensive exchange of military servicemen, who will be trained both in the United States and in Russia, and the more frequent staging of joint exercises. It also embraces such spheres as safety at sea and the passing of information of interest to both sides. This means, in the final analysis, the direct "hot line" that has been so vital in quickly providing replies to questions that arise from one side or the other. We are building up our exchanges every year and at the end of the day we are learning from one another.

Dwelling on plans to set up Russian-American peacekeeping forces, Grachev said that an announcement had only just been made and it was too early to say where these forces might be deployed. Recalling that they would be built on the basis of the 3d U.S. Infantry Division and the 27th Russian Motor Rifle Division, he stressed that their task at the moment was to draw up a plan of joint training and technical fitting, and to reach an agreement on holding joint command and troop exercises. Meanwhile, he said, the political leaders of the two states will be able to determine those areas where these forces may be used. The minister himself did not rule out the possibility of the peace-keeping forces being deployed on the territory of Russia or the former USSR. [Moscow ITAR-TASS in English at 1824 GMT on 9 September, in a similar report says: "Grachev ruled out the possibility of deploying peace-keeping forces in Russia or other former Soviet republics."]

For his part, Aspin, in an interview for ITAR-TASS, said that questions on nuclear armaments in the former Soviet republics were touched upon at the talks. In this connection he gave a positive appraisal of the recent agreement reached between Russia and Ukraine. As the head of the Pentagon stressed, this accord gives us much inspiration and I would very much like to congratulate the Russian Federation and the government of Ukraine. In our opinion, the idea of such a settlement to the nuclear armaments problem is a very good one, and we hope that it will be carried out in practice, Aspin noted.

Comments on Peace Forces

LD0909183193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Interview with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev by correspondent Sergey Goryachev in Washington on 9 September; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer Tatyana Komarova] A memorandum on cooperation between the Russian and U.S. military has been signed in Washington.

[Goryachev] The well-being, prosperity, and security of the Russian Federation and the United States are vitally interconnected. The defense ministers of the two countries included these words in a memorandum which, apart from a political declaration, lays the real foundations for what may be called cooperation. Joint exercises of the Russian and U.S. military—we have still not got used to this. Just as we have not got used to regular meetings between the heads of military intelligence departments, and mutual visits not only of senior officers, but of private soldiers, too. The memorandum also includes a paragraph of special interest.

[Grachev] We have not yet discussed areas where our peacekeeping forces might take part; we have merely announced the formation of peacekeeping forces of the United States of America and Russia on the base of the 3d U.S. Infantry Division and the 27th Russian Motor Rifle Division.

[Goryachev] Yet, can it be supposed that at some stage Russian and U.S. peacekeeping forces may be used on the territory of Russia and the former USSR?

[Grachev] Again, this is more of a political question which you are asking, and I say this is for the examination of our political leaders.

[Goryachev] Fine.

[Grachev] But I will say that I do not deny that they may be used.

[Goryachev] The Russian-U.S. memorandum was signed in the building of the U.S. Defense Department, the Pentagon. It is interesting that the staff cafe in this building was given the name Zero Ground (Epicenter). That was the gloomy joke made during the Cold War by those who believed that it was precisely the Pentagon that would be hit by the first Soviet nuclear missile in the event of a conflict. No new name has yet been thought up for the cafe in the Pentagon. [Video shows Grachev and Aspin signing documents; footage of Russian and U.S. troops on joint exercises and at drill; Grachev being

interviewed with Aspin at his side; zoom and aerial shots of Pentagon building with guards outside.]

Outlines Concept of Military Doctrine

LD0909204593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2025 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Text] Washington September 10 TASS—Visiting Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev said that real possibilities have been created for developing entirely new relations between the United States and Russia and for reducing their nuclear and conventional arsenals.

Speaking at the National Defence University in Washington on Thursday, Grachev outlined the basic principles of Russia's new military doctrine. The doctrine "is based on the concept of war prevention rather than preparations for a war," he said. It considers the use of force as an "exception which can be resorted to only in the interests of defence or other cases envisaged by U.N. Charter," Grachev noted.

The minister stressed that none of the countries is considered in the doctrine as Russia's potential enemy.

He pointed out that the probability of a world nuclear war remains "minimum," while the possibility of a large-scale conventional warfare has been reduced by the increasingly growing number of local wars and armed conflicts caused by territorial, economic, inter-ethnic and religious contradictions. [sentence as received]

All this "allows us to abandon the practice of keeping large armed forces in border districts, reduce the entire army and replace it with mobile forces," Grachev said.

Speaking about the establishment of Russia's new armed forces, Grachev singled out the following principles:

—Prevention of a world nuclear or conventional war by maintaining strategic forces capable of giving adequate and effective response.

—Prevention of regional and local wars and armed conflicts by establishing general purpose forces capable of repelling an aggression and carrying out prompt build-up in case of escalation of hostilities.

Grachev said that by January 1, 1995 the Russian Armed Forces planned to be reduced to 1.5 million troops. However, "the vast territory (of Russia) and the considerable length of its borders force (us) to pay much attention to the establishment of mobile forces which should make up for quantitative reductions," the minister said.

Grachev has set off for a tour of the country, during which he will visit several U.S. military bases and meet with the U.S. military.

Implementation of U.S. Aid Package Assessed

PM0909085793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by U.S. lawyer Larry Friedman and Aleksandr Shalnev: "Russia-United States: Restrictions on Trade Remain, But There Is a Loophole"]

[Text] "The good thing about this package is that we can start implementing it right now," it was said at the Russian-American summit meeting in Vancouver concerning the comprehensive aid program to assist the reforms in Russia.

Moreover, nearly every component of the package—and this was mentioned as well—was very specific both in terms of amount and in terms of date—25 April, 27 April, 1 May, and so on.

Nearly six months have elapsed. What has been done?

The American Embassy in Moscow kindly provided IZVESTIYA with some detailed factual information. Fifteen or so closely written pages, with hundreds of figures. The key fact is as follows: As of the end of July, 64 percent of the Vancouver package had been implemented. This means, the document explains, that 64 percent of the accords reached by Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton have been converted into clear-cut agreements and contracts.

An analysis of the data supplied by the embassy allows one to draw the conclusion that some of the plans are simply in a state of suspension, including some for which money has already been formally allocated. For example, not one of the 215 million dollars earmarked for "assistance in the security sphere" or, rather, for dismantling nuclear armaments, creating facilities for the storage of nuclear warheads, and so on, has come into play.

On the other hand, contracts have already been concluded for the construction of 460 specimen show houses for servicemen returning to Russia. Nearly all of the $6 million allocated by the Americans for this purpose is tied up in contracts, which will result in comfortable homes in Novosibirsk, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Volgograd, and in Lipetsk and Tula Oblasts.

Then again, not a cent has been spent yet on the program for training medical specialists, although equipment and medicines supplied from the Pentagon's abundant, unused reserves will start arriving at eight Moscow hospitals in September.

It is true, though, that the program of exchanges of schoolchildren, students, and local politicians and officials is well under way. Mainly one-way exchange, according to the information: They are going from here to America. It is worth noting that the USIA is now revising for the third time—in an upward direction again—expenditure on the needs of Russian journalists invited to America on fact-finding or practical visits.

The program to assist the privatization process is being overfulfilled: One of the Vancouver plans was cut for the specific purpose of immediately transferring the funds to privatization needs. The food supply program, worth $700 million in all, has its full complement of agreements and contracts. Russian premier Viktor Chernomyrdin will finally sign these contracts in Washington.

In an interview for IZVESTIYA on the eve of his departure for the United States, the prime minister made it clear that he would raise with the Americans the question of their fulfillment of the commitment that Bill Clinton made publicly in Vancouver, namely to bring about as soon as possible the lifting of all restrictions on trade with Russia—restrictions that date back to the Cold War era. These restrictions remain to this day, and not one of the 40 or 50 legislative acts placing obstacles in the way of our goods going to America or U.S. goods headed our way has been revoked.

We are still not entitled to use the facilities of the Generalized System of Tariff Preferences [GSTP], that is the right to import 4,300 types of goods into the United States entirely duty-free. If these facilities were extended to us, the average saving for Russian exporters would be nearly six percent, and 14 percent for those supplying certain types of petroleum products.

In 1976, when a law was adopted in America regulating the GSTP, the USSR was not part of the setup along with Japan and the Common Market countries, among others. The Soviet Union is still on the banned list, and the interpretation of the theory of successor-states prevents the advantages of duty-free trade from being extended to Russia and the other countries of the former Union at the moment, except for the Baltic countries.

Incidentally, Alan Dunn, who was deputy assistant secretary of commerce in the Bush administration and who is now practicing law in Washington, is convinced there is a loophole that allows our exporters to use GSTP. The loophole is as follows: Russian goods should undergo substantial processing in the Baltic countries and become 35-percent Baltic in terms of their final value. A very simple example: We deliver a 65-percent finished motor vehicle to Latvia—it has no wheels and, say, no gearbox. The wheels and gearbox, made in Latvia or merely installed there, will enable our exporters to negotiate the customs obstacles in America without paying any duty.

But it will not be enough to send the commodity via the Baltic area or change the packaging: U.S. customs control services are extremely meticulous about such matters. As for the aforementioned loophole, the Russians have not resorted to it yet, in the hope that President Clinton will keep the promise he made in Vancouver.

Turkey's Ciller Signs Agreements, Notes 'Useful' Meetings

TA0909113893 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Prime Minister Tansu Ciller has said that a new page has been turned in the rapprochement and cooperation between Turkey and Russia. Two agreements have been signed between Turkey and Russia on the establishment of a direct telephone line to enable communication on important and urgent issues and on the prevention of double taxation.

Tansu Ciller, who is on an official visit to Russia, is continuing to hold contacts in Moscow. This morning, she laid a wreath at the monument of the unknown soldier near the Kremlin.

Later, official talks were held between the Turkish and Russian delegations, headed by Ciller and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin respectively. After the meeting, the two prime ministers said that they agreed on every issue. They then signed two agreements: one on the establishment of a direct telephone line and one on the prevention of double taxation.

Prime Minister Ciller was also received by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the Kremlin today. Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin was also present at the 70-minute meeting.

In a statement after the meeting, Ciller said that the contacts between the two countries have been extremely positive and that they have been discussing both bilateral relations and world developments. She said: We turned a new page in the rapprochement and cooperation between Turkey and Russia. I believe that it was a very useful meeting for both countries.

Ciller will be received by Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov this afternoon. The prime minister will hold a news conference at the end of her visit and will return to Turkey this evening.

Meets With Khasbulatov

LD0909115693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1125 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep— A meeting took place today in the Russian House of Soviets between Ruslan Khasbulatov, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, and Tansu Ciller, the Turkish prime minister. During their conversation, the sides emphasized the importance of developing and strengthening relations between the two states at all levels, including the parliamentary level.

The Turkish prime minister said she was satisfied with her visit to Russia and emphasized that the goal of this visit was "to expand friendship and cooperation with

Russia." "Partnership and cooperation based on trust are vital. They will serve to guarantee stability in the region," the guest stated.

Welcomes New Stage in Relations

LD0909162193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1508 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Palariya and Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—Russia and Turkey have entered a new stage in their relationship based on mutually advantageous cooperation instead of rivalry, Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller told a press conference on Thursday, summing up the results of her visit to Russia.

Ciller called "symbolic" the fact that her first trip abroad since she took office in June was paid to Russia.

The prime minister said all the agreements achieved during her talks with Russian opposite number Viktor Chernomyrdin met positive approval of President Yeltsin.

"We decided to sign an agreement on coal deliveries to Turkey, came to an agreement on the oil industry, and revealed mutual understanding in some other spheres," Ciller said.

According to her, Turkey's stand on the Karabakh settlement met "support and understanding of the Russian leadership".

Meets With Yeltsin

LD0909185093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1635 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep (ITAR-TASS)—Russia's President Boris Yeltsin received in the Kremlin today Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller (ITAR-TASS amplification: Mrs. Tansu Ciller had been here on an official visit and left for home today). Ways of developing Russian-Turkish interaction in the sphere of bilateral relations and on the international arena were discussed in a friendly and frank manner. This is reported by the Russian presidential press service.

Boris Yeltsin and Tansu Ciller state that there are no complications in mutual relations between Russia and Turkey, and that there are common interests. It is stressed that major agreements were reached during the visit on a substantial increase in trade and economic cooperation, including an increase in power engineering, transport, construction, in the sphere of military technology, and in the joint development of the Black Sea region.

The president and the prime minister spoke of the mutual interest of Russia and Turkey in safeguarding peace, stability, and security in the Eurasian region which is common to them both, and of their readiness to work closely together to this end with all the states situated here, the press service report says.

In examining the conflict around Karabakh, the sides advocate the fulfilment of UN Security Council resolutions 822 and 853, which favor corresponding coordinated efforts aimed at ending the hostilities and the bloodshed, and ensuring peace and stability in this region. Russia and Turkey will continue to contribute toward a settlement of the Bosnian crisis and in overcoming the consequences of the war in the Persian Gulf. The president and the prime minister set out their views on building a new Europe, which coincide in many respects.

Boris Yeltsin and Tansu Ciller stress the great opportunities for Russian-Turkish cooperation in many spheres. Tansu Ciller noted that this visit to Russia is her first abroad as prime minister. She reaffirmed her invitation to Boris Yeltsin to pay an official visit to Turkey.

Expressing his gratitude, the Russian president said that he hopes to take advantage of this invitation in the first quarter of next year.

Holds News Conference

TA0909183493 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Report by Eriz Oktar in Moscow]

[Text] Prime Minister Tansu Ciller concluded her contacts in Moscow with a news conference. During her news conference, Ciller commented on her contacts in Moscow and answered questions.

Stressing that we are living in a rapidly changing world, Ciller noted that Turkey and Russia are seeking stability within this atmosphere of change. There will not be stability without Turkey and Russia, she declared. Ciller remarked that regional stability can be achieved through Turkish-Russian cooperation and that she regards this understanding as a new era of cooperation.

Ciller pointed out that the framework of this cooperation was discussed with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin under 11 points of discussion, adding that agreement was reached and a cooperation framework was noted for each point. Cooperation was discussed in the fields of oil and coal and agreement was reached on these issues, she remarked.

Economic cooperation will constitute the first step of the foundation in political cooperation, Ciller declared. She announced that Turkey shares similar views with the Russian Administration on matters including the further expansion of Europe, the need to extend its eastern borders to the east of Russia, future cooperation, the lifting of the embargo on Iraq, and cooperation concerning Armenian attacks against Azerbaijan.

Ciller reported that all her contacts with Chernomyrdin were endorsed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Noting that Russia and Turkey view the world from the same window, Ciller said that similar histories, ways of solving current problems, and reciprocal assistance in solving these problems will constitute the basis of the new Turkish-Russian relations.

In reply to a question on the specific fields in which development is expected between Turkey and Russia in the coming years, Ciller responded: This development will continue in the areas of economic and political cooperation as well as in democratization. In the economic field, there is a natural gas agreement worth $350 million between Turkey and Russia. Our goal is to double this in a very short time. A similar agreement will be concluded on the subject of coal. Moreover, it will be possible for contractors to undertake the construction of certain ports and similar new work. With regard to oil, there are plans for Turkey, the United States, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan to establish a subcommittee and meet in Ankara.

The prime minister added that the traffic through the Turkish straits cannot tolerate oil deliveries, therefore, the said committee will discuss the construction of a pipeline which will transport the oil from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean via Turkey.

Answering a question on Russia's debt to Turkey, Ciller explained that a series of formulas were discussed for repayment of the $520- million debt and that 30 percent of the price of natural gas purchased from Russia will be discounted to cover the debt.

Views Transcaucasus Situation

LD0909182693 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller by correspondents Maksim Gan and Konstantin Eggert; place and date not given: "Tansu Ciller: 'In the Transcaucasus, We Will Only Act Together With Russia'"]

[Text] [IZVESTIYA] Many people think that the differences between Russia's and Turkey's approaches to the crisis in Yugoslavia and the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict are a function of the historical rivalry between our countries, which is bound to continue. What do you think?

[Ciller] Only intensive dialogue and frequent consultations can smooth out the differences of views that sometimes arise. In any case, we are united in the desire to establish peace and stability in those regions. Both countries are committed to observing the general norms and principles formulated by the CSCE. Turkey and Russia are neither rivals nor competitors. We are linked by relations of partnership.

[IZVESTIYA] Are there differences of opinion within the Turkish Government over the conflict in the Transcaucasus? You recently stated that Turkey is prepared to declare war on Armenia, but then President S. Demirel rejected the possibility of military intervention in the conflict.

[Ciller] There are no differences of opinion on this question. Of course we could adopt military measures—Turkey has sufficient strength to do so. But we do not want to. Furthermore, Turkey has supplied Armenia with food and medical supplies, although this went against public opinion in the country. But we cannot sit idly by while the Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan continues. Turkey would like to act together with Russia in this region.

[IZVESTIYA] Last year S. Demirel put forward the idea of increasing deliveries of Russian oil to Turkey, to be paid for partly in hard currency, partly in goods, and partly in investments. Do such plans exist today?

[Ciller] These plans are under consideration. There is tremendous potential for the further expansion and diversification of our economic relations. We are interested in increasing crude oil imports from the Russian Federation. The resources obtained in this way could serve as a major stimulus to economic links between our countries.

[IZVESTIYA] Turkey was the first NATO country to acquire military equipment from Russia. What are the prospects for military cooperation?

[Ciller] Military supplies are just one possible aspect of future Russian-Turkish cooperation in this sphere. It would be possible to [illegible] joint production, participation in the conversion of enterprises in the defense complex, and cooperation on projects in third countries. The participation of the private sector in these projects is particularly important. It is necessary to study the prospects carefully and draw up a joint action plan.

[IZVESTIYA] After the breakup of the Soviet Union much was said about the "Turkish model" as being the most suitable for the new independent states of Central Asia. Two years have elapsed, yet the influence of Islamic fundamentalism in the region and in Turkey itself is continuing to grow. Does this not mean that the "Turkish model" has proved less effective than was thought?

[Ciller] I think the revival of interest in religion in the new independent states of Central Asia should not be confused with reactionary fundamentalism, which is undoubtedly a serious threat to democracy. However, I think that today fundamentalism does not enjoy broad sympathy in those countries, and that, just as in Turkey, it does not play a special role. Many foreigners are inclined to confuse religious conservatism with outright reactionary fundamentalism. Therefore the Turkish model of a secular democracy is still of great significance. The best way to stop the spread of fundamentalism is to accelerate economic progress, strengthen the system of social justice, and widen the sphere of operation of democratic pluralism.

[IZVESTIYA] You are Turkey's first woman prime minister. Do you think you are doing a man's job, or do you think women can offer something new to the world of politics?

[Ciller] I do not think a statesman's success depends on gender. And I certainly do not think that the post of prime minister was created exclusively for men. Women have always offered the world of politics something new in terms of style, emotion, grace, and tenaciousness. In any country, the predominant factors in choosing someone for the post of premier should be their political capabilities and successes in their previous work.

Departs; Chernomyrdin Hails Talks

LD0909162393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1426 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep—Tansu Ciller, the head of the Turkish Government, left Moscow for home today. At the airport she was seen off by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

A protocol has been signed on the results of the Russian-Turkish talks. It records in particular, Turkey's readiness to grant Russia a new credit, and Russia's agreement to increase gas supplies to Turkey.

Replying to correspondents' questions, Viktor Chernomyrdin highly assessed the work done. "Turkey has always been of interest to us: Firstly, because our countries are neighbors; secondly, for a long time there have been good relations between our countries which we would like to expand and deepen; thirdly, Turkey has gone through economic reforms and been transformed very quickly. This is why that country's experience could be used for carrying out economic reforms in Russia," he stressed.

Kozyrev Voices Support for Israel-PLO Agreement

PM1009075793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksey Portanskiy report: "Israel and PLO Will Recognize Each Other No Later Than Friday"]

[Excerpts] Judging from numerous reports the official act of mutual recognition between the PLO and Israel is expected no later than Friday [10 September], and the date for signing a Palestinian-Israeli agreement granting autonomy to Palestinians on part of the occupied territories has already been named: 13 September in the White House. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile Moscow and Washington are continuing their energetic work to ensure the international community's support for the agreement reached between Israel and the PLO. In Tuesday's [7 September] telephone conversation between Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin the leaders of the two states coordinating the Middle East peace process agreed to continue cooperation in order to achieve peace in the region after the agreement between Israel and the PLO has been concluded. President Clinton has sent personal messages to the leaders of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab countries. In letters to his Israeli colleague S. Peres and to PLO leader Y. 'Arafat Russian Federation Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev declared his support for the agreement that has been worked out.

The "Gaza-Jericho" agreement should be regarded as a transitional phase on the way to creating a Palestinian state in all the occupied territories, Yasir 'Arafat stated the other day in Cairo. Jericho will become a permanent seat for the Palestinian authorities, because it is located in immediate proximity to most Palestinians living in the captured territories, 'Arafat believes. [passage omitted]

Kozyrev Meets Afghan Leaders; Visits Afghan-Tajik Border

LD0909204393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Zotov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev met Afghan Prime Minister Hekmatyar and President Rabbani.

It is possible that soon Russian experts will go to Afghanistan to clear the minefields that were left from the Soviet-Afghan war. However, the most important subject during the Kabul talks was the situation on the Tajik-Afghanistan border. Today, Kozyrev had the opportunity to see the situation on the border for himself, but this time on the Tajik side where he met Russian border guards. The situation remains extremely complicated. Last night for instance, the territory controlled by the 12th frontier post of the Moskovskiy frontier detachment was bombarded with shells and small arms fire.

At the same time, if Russian servicemen are to clear mines in Afghanistan, on many sectors of the Tajik-Afghan border they are carrying out active mine laying. According to data from the Russian Defense Ministry over 43,000 mines have been laid, 14 engineering defense installations, and several dozen kilometers of mine fields.

Moreover, it is possible that after Kozyrev's visit to Afghanistan the number of attacks on Russian guards on the Tajik- Afghan border will decrease. This problem was expected to be the most important in Kozyrev's meeting with the leaders of Tajikistan, Imamali Rakhmanov, and Rashid Olimov. In the opinion of political authorities today, Tajikistan is ready to develop cooperation with Russia, not only in the military sphere, but in all directions, including economic, in order to restore the industry destroyed during the civil war.

Today Andrey Kozyrev planned to fly from Dushanbe to Bishkek to meet the President of Kyrgyzstan. [Video report showing frontier areas of Afghanistan and Tajikistan with installations.]

Returns, Comments on Tajikistan Visit

LD1009013893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0030 GMT 10 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep—Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Russian Federation's foreign policy establishment, returned to the Russian capital today following a working visit to Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan.

The talks he held there focused above all on how to stabilize the situation in Tajikistan and on the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border, as well as bilateral relations. Andrey Kozyrev said to journalists that to bring the situation in and around Tajikistan back to normal, joint efforts were needed from Russia and its partner republics in Central Asia to strengthen security and defense on the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. These measures, the minister said, should be accompanied by efforts to strengthen Tajikistan's statehood and develop a dialogue with the opposition.

Shaposhnikov Appointed Ambassador to New Zealand

LD0809153793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Text] Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, who tendered his resignation from the post of secretary of the Russian Security Council, has been appointed ambassador to New Zealand.

Deputy Secretary Vladimir Rubanov will temporarily head the council.

Ministry Condemns Reports

LD0909110893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0920 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep—A highly placed official at the Russian Foreign Ministry has denied reports that Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov is to be appointed ambassador to New Zealand. Speaking to an ITAR-TASS correspondent today, he said it was extremely unethical to publish such reports, since the Foreign Ministry had not even asked New Zealand if it would agree to Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov's appointment. Until that has been done it is absurd to say an ambassador has been appointed to any country. According to the Foreign Ministry official, the publication of such reports is reminiscent of "the behavior of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which used to make such decisions before consent had been received from host states."

The Russian president's press service also refused to confirm reports that Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov had been appointed ambassador to New Zealand. However, the ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned that the question of Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov's candidature as ambassador to that republic was raised by the leadership of the Foreign Ministry.

Shaposhnikov Denies Reports

LD0909100593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0932 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS military observer Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep—Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov today denied reports that he is to be appointed ambassador to New Zealand. In a telephone conversation with the ITAR-TASS observer he disclosed that "this has actually been discussed with the Russian Foreign Ministry leadership. I considered the proposal but turned it down."

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov also stressed that his "request to resign from the post of secretary of the Security Council remains valid." Asked what his future plans were, the marshal replied that "everything depends on the position of the Russian president."

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Departs Moscow for Belgrade

LD0809121593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic stated today that his visit to China, Ukraine, and Russia was an integral part of our policy and efforts to dispute and penetrate the unjust and monstrous isolation that some international forces wish to impose on Yugoslavia.

Summarizing his visits to Beijing, Kiev, and Moscow, Minister Jovanovic told Yugoslav correspondents in Moscow that the contribution Yugoslavia has made to the progress of the Geneva negotiations is great. That contribution has become so obvious and appreciated by the major part of the international community that it has become impossible to keep Yugoslavia in isolation any longer. Such appreciation of Yugoslav policy was expressed in all the three countries, Jovanovic said.

The Yugoslav foreign minister left Moscow for Belgrade this afternoon.

Black Sea Fleet General Staff in Favor of Single Fleet

LD0909212593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1642 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep—Officers of the Black Sea Fleet General Staff support the position adopted by the president and the Supreme Soviet of Russia on the preservation of a single fleet. The ITAR- TASS correspondent learned this today at the Black Sea Fleet press center.

A resolution adopted today at the Staff Officers' Assembly expresses a desire that the Russian Federation will take the Black Sea Fleet, along with its coastal infrastructure, under its jurisdiction, and the orders of the Russian defense minister and the Russian Federation legislative acts will be extended to the fleet personnel. In the officers' opinion, this will "ensure preservation of the fleet's combat power, its history and military traditions, provide appropriate social conditions for the seamen, workers, and officials, and enable it to become a guarantor of peace and stability in the region."

The officers have also expressed the hope that the results of the 3 September talks in Crimea between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine will "be practically implemented."

Delegation to Talks With Ukraine Appointed

LD0909103393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0933 GMT 9 Sep 93

[[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]]

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued an executive order entrusting a Russian state delegation to conduct negotiations with Ukraine, the Russian president's press office reported on Thursday [9 September].

The talks will concentrate on putting into practice the agreements on the Black Sea Fleet reached in the course of the recent meeting between the Russian and Ukrainian presidents on September 3, 1993.

Yuriy Dubinin will lead the Russian delegation.

The president signed the order on September 8, 1993.

Joint Communique Signed After Aliyev's Visit

LD0909224493 Baku Radio Baku International Service in English 1700 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] As we have already informed you dear listeners, the acting president and chairman of the supreme soviet of Azerbaijan, Geydar Aliyev, was on a working visit to Moscow from 5 to 8 September.

At the end of Mr. Aliyev's working visit to Moscow a joint Azerbaijan-Russian communique was issued. The joint communique says that the leader of Azerbaijan, Geydar Aliyev, met with the Russian President Boris Yeltsin and had talks with the head of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov, with the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Viktor Chernomyrdin, with the Vice Chairman Sergey Shakhray, the heads of the state committee on federation and nationalities, with the heads of the foreign policy and defense departments, Andrey Kozyrev and General Grachev, and with the Mayor of Moscow Yuriy Luzhkov.

The meetings were constructive, and were held in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding. They discussed the whole complex Azerbaijan-Russian relations and confirmed their determination to improve the relations between Azerbaijan and Russia on the basis of mutual respect for their sovereignty and independence, as well as on the principles of territorial integrity and the inviolability of [word indistinct].

The sides also expressed a mutual desire to raise the level of interstate relations, to use all possible ways to further develop and deepen political, economic and other relations between the two countries, to expand the interaction and cooperation areas both in the regions and in the international arena. They also agreed to sign an important political document cementing the traditional friendly relations and comprehensive equal cooperation between Russia and Azerbaijan.

They also signed an agreement on settling the external national debt and assets of the former USSR. They commissioned authorities to work out a draft agreement on expanding state credit to Azerbaijan for the year 1993. The sides expressed deep concern about the escalation of hostilities on the territory of Azerbaijan, the expansion of military actions in the southern districts of Azerbaijan. Those military actions resulted in the seizure of new territories of Azerbaijan and a steady stream of refugees creating a critical situation in Azerbaijan and a new threat to peace and security in Transcaucasia.

Russia and Azerbaijan are clearly confirming their aspiration for restoring peace in the region and their readiness to cooperate in reaching for political settlement of the tragic armed conflict in upper Karabakh and in other regions of Azerbaijan in accordance with the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 822 and 853, first of all an immediate cease-fire and end of bloodshed, complete withdrawal of occupation forces from all the occupied territories. They also expressed their willingness to provide firm guarantees which will put an end to hostilities. The Russian side expressed its gratitude to the parliament of Azerbaijan for the (?second) decision about handing over six former Russian soldiers convicted in Azerbaijan through Russian justice.

Russia and Azerbaijan unanimously stated that the Moscow summit meetings and talks became an important stage in restoring mutual confidence, fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation for the benefit of the peoples of Russia and Azerbaijan.

Iranian Role in Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict Assessed

NC0909151293 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1330 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Vladimir Pronin commentary]

[Text] Esteemed listeners: Iran announced yesterday that it is willing to construct refugee camps capable of holding around 100,000 people. A Foreign Ministry statement issued by IRNA said the decision was being made in response to a request by Azerbaijani officials in view of spreading aggression by the Armenian forces on Azerbaijani territory. This step by Tehran shows Iran's increasing participation in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and that the arena of military operations is nearing the Iranian border.

On 6 September, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati warned Armenia that if the aggressive operations of the secessionist Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh continue in the heartland of Azerbaijani territory, Iran will not remain indifferent. At the same time, the Iranian foreign minister stressed the need for the immediate withdrawal of the Armenian forces from Azerbaijani territory, but Iran appears not to be content with verbal warnings.

On 4 September, some news agencies and RESALAT, which is published in Tehran, said the Iranian security forces—on the pretext of projecting support for refugees and protecting two dams being constructed on the Aras River—entered Azerbaijan from the Nakhichevan Province region.

In a telephone conversation with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, 'Ali Akbar Velayati vehemently refuted the report, but Iran has not rebutted or endorsed the report officially. It is obvious that in Moscow, officials could not ignore the emergence of a new element in the Azerbaijani-Armenian imbroglio, that is, the direct participation of a third party.

Grigoriy Karasin, the head of the Press Information Department of the Russian Federation, told a news conference in the capital that Moscow cannot support such actions by Iran, no matter how justified they may be. According to one Russian Foreign Ministry official, the dispatch of armed units to Azerbaijani territory may escalate the differences and enhance the danger of the internationalization of the conflict.

The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that while Iran's anxiety about the events of the differences over Nagorno-Karabakh is understandable, he shares this concern, but calls on Tehran to exercise restraint. On 9 September, three days of consultations among representatives of the Minsk group countries of the CSCE will commence and the parties involved will be able to attend. Iran, which is not an official member of the CSCE, will be able to attend these consultations.

The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman added that Moscow and Tehran have agreed to continue specific negotiations on the issue.

Libyan Envoy Urges 'Dialogue' on Lockerbie Suspects

PM0809134393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 93 p 7

[Interview with Libyan Ambassador Sha'ban by Dmitriy Kulik; place and date not given: "Libya Is 'In Favor.' But Everyone Is 'Against.' Libyan Ambassador to Russia Answers Our Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] Lately contradictory information about Libya and its policy has been coming from our TV screens and radios. Some people describe it as a "hotbed of terrorism," while others are inclined to see it as the "bastion of justice" in the Arab world. What do the Libyans themselves think about this? How do they view their actions and those of other people? We put these and other questions to Ambassador Muhammad Husni Sha'ban of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

[Kulik] Libya's alleged involvement in blowing up the Pan Am airliner over Lockerbie is being discussed very frequently at the moment. The handover of two Libyans thought to have perpetrated this act of terrorism is being demanded. M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, has said that his country is willing to hand them over, but not to British or U.S. justice. What is the reason for that?

[Sha'ban] Libya approached the question of its two citizens' involvement in blowing up the Pan Am airliner in an extremely responsible and very restrained manner as soon as it was raised. It stated its willingness to cooperate with the United Nations, the world community, and the two interested states (Britain and the United States—D.K.) in order to find out the truth. But, since the other side rejected that offer, it would be fair and logical for the case not to be considered by a court there. A neutral approach is what is needed here as a precondition of any fair trial.

I think that the other side should change its stance and meet our positive approach halfway. The absence of dialogue and mutual understanding is one of the main reasons why this problem is so complicated.

[Kulik] A deadlock is taking shape. Britain and the United States are insisting on their viewpoint, while Libya is insisting on its own. What is a feasible solution? Who can cut this knot?

[Sha'ban] A solution can be found via dialogue and mutual understanding. I think that all the interesting parties can cut this knot, to use your expression, by pursuing dialogue and renouncing pressure, which does not help to resolve the problem but, on the contrary,

complicates it. The United Nations and in particular the Security Council can play a tremendous positive role in this.

[Kulik] Libya's culpability in blowing up the aircraft has not been proved, but an economic embargo has already been introduced, and Russia backed these sanctions.

[Sha'ban] Trade and economic cooperation between our countries has suffered severely as a result of the embargo, although political relations are still in a good state. What is needed is joint work to restore cooperation to its former scale and to develop it.

[Kulik] Such states as Italy used to obtain the bulk of their oil from Libya. After the sanctions were introduced the Italian economy did not come to a standstill. Does this mean that some European countries not only do not want the sanctions, but are "quietly" ignoring them?

[Sha'ban] I do not think that any state thought that implementing sanctions was in its interests: No one wants to damage their own trade and economic relations. But I cannot say that other countries are ignoring the strong-arm measures against Libya envisaged by Security Council Resolution No. 748, about which we have our own opinion.

[Kulik] M. al-Qadhdhafi has openly condemned the actions of fundamentalists in the Arab world, but what specifically is Libya doing on this.?

[Sha'ban] The term "Islamic fundamentalists" is disputable. The true meaning of this expression goes back to the interpretation and understanding of religious matters—to the Koran and Sunna. In itself that causes no complaint. It is another matter when this is used in actions that are directed against the security and stability of society or distort the essence of the religion.

The term now implies "Islamic extremists." That is inaccurate.

But all in all the problem of extremism and violence is each state's internal affair, and it is entitled to resolve it in accordance with its own conditions and current laws. As for the Libyan Jamahiriyah, its laws prohibit any activity that damages its security or the security of other states, particularly its neighbors.

DPRK 'Prepared To Allow' Military Site Inspection

SK0909142593 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] The DPRK is reported to have said that it is prepared to allow the specialists of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] to inspect its military sites [kun taesang]. However, the DPRK notes that such an international inspection is only possible when the IAEA modifies its policy to a certain degree, said a spokesman for the DPRK Ministry of Atomic Power Industry.

The spokesman stated that the IAEA should discard a prejudiced attitude against Korea and change its partiality.

Talks were held in Pyongyang last week to discuss the IAEA's international inspection, but the talks ended with no results.

Western countries continue to suspect that the DPRK is developing nuclear weapons at two military sites.

Burbulis Urges Fair Solution to Territorial Dispute

LD0909135493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1321 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo, September 9 (TASS)—Former Russian State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis has said that the settlement of the territorial dispute with Japan "will not infringe upon Russia's interests."

Burbulis, who is currently on a visit in Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, said the problem should be solved "as fairly and honestly as possible, including with regards to the interests of Russian inhabitants of the islands."

He stressed the need to carry out systematic work to propagate the history of the territorial problem in Russia. "The problem of South Kuriles was caused by the aggression of the Stalin totalitarian regime which led to the expatriation of civilians from their homeland. This should be corrected," Burbulis noted.

He added that "sooner or later the four islands would be returned to Japan, but it is difficult to speak about concrete dates."

"It is in the interests of the great and freedom-loving people of Russia to shrug off the totalitarian past without humiliating themselves in the eyes of other peoples who equally suffered from Soviet totalitarianism," Burbulis said.

Burbulis has expressed concern about his political future in connection with his reconciliating statements in Japan, the UPI news agency reports from Tokyo. "Because I made various positive statements on the territorial dispute I am concerned about a reaction of President (Boris) Yeltsin's opponents in the parliament when I come back," Burbulis said.

Warns Against Hasty Decisions

LD0909175093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1624 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo September 9 TASS—Former Russian State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis has described the Japanese

Government's position in the territorial dispute over the four Kuril islands as "more realistic" than before.

Burbulis, who is currently on a visit in Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, told ITAR-TASS after his meeting with Japanese Foreign Minister Tsutomu Hata that Tokyo "confirms its determination to seek realistic new approaches within the entire spectrum of Russian-Japanese relations and solve on this basis complex specific questions existing in relations between our countries."

He believes there are all possibilities to develop bilateral cooperation between Russia and Japan without confining it only to the territorial dispute.

Burbulis noted that the settlement of the territorial dispute with Japan "will not infringe upon Russia's interests." The problem should be solved "as fairly and honestly as possible, including with regard to the interests of Russian inhabitants of the islands," he added.

He stressed the need to carry out systematic work to propagate the history of the territorial problem in Russia. "The problem of south Kurils was caused by the aggression of the Stalin totalitarian regime which led to the expatriation of civilians from their homeland. This should be corrected," Burbulis noted.

"It is in the interests of the great and freedom-loving people of Russia to shrug off the totalitarian past without humiliating themselves in the eyes of other peoples who equally suffered from Soviet totalitarianism," Burbulis said.

At the same time, he warned against attempts to rush this process. "Any attempts to rush (the process) and unjustifiably raise the plank of conditions for a fair solution of the problem of south Kurils will only help the consolidation of the opposition in Russia," he said.

Burbulis has expressed concern about his political future in connection with his reconciliating statements in Japan, the UPI news agency reports from Tokyo. "Because I made various positive statements about the territorial dispute I am concerned about a reaction of President (Boris) Yeltsin's opponents in the parliament when I come back," Burbulis said.

China's Li Peng Comments on Bilateral Ties

LD1009081593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 10 Sep 93

[Text] No matter what happens in Russia, China is ready to maintain relations of good-neighborliness, friendship, and mutually advantageous cooperation with it, Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng has said.

In an interview for the Mexican SOL DE MEXICO paper, he said that these relations ought to be underpinned by the five peaceful coexistence principles. The Chinese prime minister noted that economic ties between the PRC and Russia are developing and that cross-border trade is growing at a particularly fast rate. The volume of bilateral trade exchange during the first half of this year reached $3.68 billion, exceeding the levels reached during trade with the Soviet Union, Li Peng said.

Chinese Attend Arms Exhibition 'in Droves'

AU0909193093 Paris AFP in English 1844 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Nizhny Novgorod, Russia, Sept 9 (AFP)—Organizers said some 40 countries sent representatives to an exhibit of Russian armaments here this week, but while many seemed absent or obscure, Chinese arms shoppers turned out in droves.

"They've got the money and they're in the market," said Paul Dufresne, a U.S.-based international arms consultant, nodding at a pack of Chinese officials as they watched a mobile anti-aircraft gun demonstration under a steady rain.

China, itself a major arms exporter, has stepped up purchases of Russian-made weaponry including fighter planes and air-defense missile systems, and is shopping for technologies it is barred from purchasing from the West.

"The Chinese are looking for night-vision equipment, small weapons systems and guidance technologies they can use in manufacturing their own artillery pieces and missiles," Dufresne said.

A Chinese delegate turned and walked away when asked if China hoped to make any deals during the arms exhibit at Nizhny Novgorod about 400 kilometers (250 miles) east of Moscow.

Other shoppers included Germany, said to be looking for spare parts for the squadrons of MiG-29 fighters it inherited from former East Germany, Thailand, Malaysia and delegates from several African states.

Notably absent, at least at the start, were delegates from the Middle East, the world's most lucrative regional arms market, where Russia has made inroads in the past year including the sale of three Kilo-class submarines to Iran.

Foreign Ministry Official on 'Alarming' Nicaragua Situation

LD0709133893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1313 GMT 7 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Moscow is closely watching the alarming Nicaraguan developments, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's information and press department Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing here today.

"Tension in Nicaragua has recently increased. In our opinion, further development of this dangerous tendency may threaten democratic gains in Nicaragua and encourage boosted activities of those parties and groupings in the neighbouring states, which have not adjusted to the inevitability of democratic changes in the region and continue to stake at force methods of problem solution," [as received] he said.

Moscow hopes a meeting of representatives of the government, the opposition National Union and the Sandinista leadership with participation of foreign ministers from Central America scheduled in Managua will help to find mutually acceptable solutions and prevent the Nicaraguan nation from the involvement in a senseless and hopeless civil war.

"We support efforts of Nicaragua's neighbour states, the Organization of American States and the whole international community aimed to help the Nicaraguans to find adequate solutions to the current situation. Russia is ready to help the government of Violeta Chamorro and all organizations and persons sincerely interested in lasting peace in the country," said Karasin.

Foreign Ministry Authorized To Sign Accord With OAS

PM0709135793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 2

[Unattributed report under the "Monitoring" rubric: "Documents"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Council of Ministers (Government) has accepted a proposal from the Russian Foreign Ministry to sign a memorandum on mutual understanding between the Russian Federation Government and the OAS General Secretariat.

As noted in this document, the sides recognize potential for cooperation in trade-economic relations, education, science and culture, ecology, and the fight against illegal drug trafficking, as well as in political-legal questions, including developing and consolidating democracy, preventing conflicts, and settling disputes peacefully.

The sides will coordinate programs in the aforementioned spheres which government could help to implement.

The Russian Foreign Ministry is to sign the memorandum on behalf of the Russian Federation Government once agreement is reached.

U.S. Concept of NATO Criticized

PM0909152393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 3

[Manki Ponomarev article: "NATO: Looking to the Future or Pining for the Past?"]

[Text] Three years have passed since the NATO leaders concluded at their London summit that it was necessary to reform the North Atlantic Alliance and adapt it to the fundamentally changed situation in Europe and the world. On the basis of the decision they reached, a new strategic concept was elaborated for the bloc and officially ratified at the November 1991 NATO Council session in Rome. Nonetheless, the debate about the future and functions of this organization continues. In fact, it has been flaring up with renewed force on both sides of the Atlantic of late.

In this connection attention is drawn to the speech by Stephen Oxman, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian Affairs, at the Atlantic Council—an influential nongovernmental political science organization whose opinions are usually heeded by the U.S. Administration. The speech set out Washington's official views of the problems that NATO is currently encountering, and ways of solving them.

It was stressed at the Atlantic Council session that in the conditions that have arisen following the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR, NATO remains the cornerstone of U.S. and European security. Consequently, the bloc should preserve its military potential, adapting it to today's threats. The most obvious of these threats are ethnic and territorial conflicts such as the one raging in the former Yugoslavia. "The ethnic mishmash in Central and East Europe and the former Soviet Union," the ranking U.S. foreign policy department official stressed in his speech, "holds out the possibility of upsurges in ethnic tension from the Baltics to Romania... Each of these numerous regions of instability is an obstacle in the way of NATO's goal of maintaining security in Europe."

At the same time, Washington believes that a strong NATO is needed not only to maintain security in Europe but, above all, in order to safeguard America's interests. President Bill Clinton recently pointed out that U.S. security rests on three foundations—global economic growth, armed forces modernization, and the spread of democratic and free-market principles. And all this is directly bound up with NATO's activity.

But this activity should be better adapted to the prevailing situation. In the military sphere, following some cuts in the nuclear arsenal in Europe, NATO should now increasingly retreat from its former reliance on forward basing and heavy weapons, and expand in its stead the flexibility and mobility of its armed forces. Moreover, NATO should be prepared to go beyond its own territory—or "sphere of responsibility," as it used to be designated—and operate outside the national borders of its member countries. In other words, NATO will become even more of a supranational force than it was before.

This is one of the central planks of the bloc's program for the future. Washington is stating unambiguously that

"the borders of NATO's security zone are shifting eastward." It is planned to officially enshrine this shift at the Council session at summit level in January next year.

The prevention of crisis situations and the resolution of conflicts on the European continent are currently handled by the United Nations, the CSCE, the EC, the Western European Union, and the Council of Europe. But the people who drafted the program for NATO's future disagree with this. They cite the fact that only NATO has armed forces, an international headquarters, and is accustomed to political and military cooperation. That is why it alone is capable of reacting flexibly and strongly to any threat that may arise. NATO, Washington stresses, stands above everything, and the United States—irrespective of its economic, budgetary, and other difficulties—must continue to participate in the bloc's activity at the proper level. As for the European forces that are planned to be set up within the EC framework, they should nonetheless be "part of NATO, carry out NATO missions, and retain their identity within NATO, but without going beyond it."

But what role is thus being allotted to the United States' European bloc partners? They will have to shoulder a larger burden of responsibility for maintaining European security—above all, by increasing their financial contribution to NATO and making broader use of their armed forces in operations beyond their national borders.

By analogy with the "arc of instability" in Southwest Asia, to which Henry Kissinger once referred, his successors at the U.S State Department are today pointing to two "crisis arcs" on the bloc's eastern and southern flanks. In this connection they are not opposed to expanding NATO by giving membership to Central and East European states, but they themselves recognize that this will give rise to a lot of problems to which no one as yet has the answer.

The NATO alliance, as Washington sees it, will be transformed from a defensive bloc facing an enemy army on the other side of a clearly defined border—as was the case in the past—into an alliance in the service of peace and capable of using force beyond its borders. And the first results of the movement in this direction can already been seen.

That, in very condensed form, is the U.S. view of the prospects for and tasks of the NATO alliance. The fact that Washington has decided to publicize it just now, on the eve of the bloc's winter Council session, is clearly no accident. It was necessary to issue guidelines for the mounting debate and to dot the i's and cross the t's so as to stop any alternative proposals emerging that would put a different spin on the strategic thrust of NATO's activity and the distribution of roles within the organization. But there is one other obvious approach to this problem. The time has come to make it clear that NATO is a hangover, a relic of the bloc system of the past. The departure from the historical scene of the era of confrontation marked the end of this system as well. Any attempts to transform NATO will not change anything of substance in it—it will continue to be an organization rooted in the past. Neither the repainting of the bloc's facade nor its modernization should be on the agenda—the focus should be on abandoning a bloc mentality in favor of creating an effective system of European and international security.

We should hardly expect this to happen in the immediate future. But the task should be set. Otherwise NATO will not be looking to the future but pining for a past that will never return.

Trade Policy Memorandum To Be Submitted to GATT

MK0909123893 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 3

[Svetlana Sukhova report: "Talks With GATT May Begin in November"]

[Text] A collegium meeting of the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry yesterday considered the progress made in drafting a memorandum on Russia's foreign trade regime. It will be presented to GATT as a basis for Russia's joining this organization. Sergey Glazyev said at a briefing following the collegium that the era of complete freedom in foreign economic activity would come to an end following the submission of the memorandum. "We will have to consult with them and vice versa," he stressed.

The memorandum is to give a detailed description of the country's economic regulation mechanisms. This primarily includes Russia's foreign trade regime, a legal framework for relations with foreign countries, currency regulation, and monetary arrangements. On the basis of this document, GATT will judge to what extent the candidate country's economic mechanism meets its criteria. Glazyev noted, however, that the document was crucial for Russia itself because it would provide guidelines for further adjustments in foreign trade mechanisms. He explained that, by submitting the memorandum, Russia would undertake not to restrict the trade regime for foreign partners. Following its accession to GATT, they will have to be consulted on any significant changes in the regime.

While the memorandum is being drafted, Glazyev said, it is essential to finally achieve clarity with regard to medium-term customs tariffs. They will be adjusted in the near future, although new tariff rates, to all appearances, will be introduced starting in early 1994. Another urgent problem is to draw a line between the jurisdiction of the Federation components and the center with regard to foreign economic activity. The matter of setting up a customs union should also be finalized because without this it will be hard to start talks on GATT membership. The draft memorandum will be presented to the government for approval in early October. At the beginning of November—once new customs tariff rates are established, a law on foreign economic activity is drawn up.

and basic documents on the customs union are signed—it will be sent to GATT for consideration by working groups.

Need for 'Friends' in CIS, World Emphasized

PM0909130393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Sep 93 p 3

[Observer Manki Ponomarev article under the "Russia's Interests" rubric: "Apparently We Have No Enemies. But Do We Have Any Friends?"]

[Text] The speeches of even our most high-ranking politicians increasingly often contain this phrase: "Russia has no enemies." It is also repeated in certain official documents relating to the country's security problems. But is it really true?

Yes, in the former sense of this word, which we repeated for decades regardless of whether or not it was appropriate to do so, we no longer have any enemies. Nobody is threatening us with "massive retribution" or "preemptive" or "disabling" strikes, nobody is waving a nuclear missile sword under the protective shield of SDI, as was the case quite recently during the Cold War years, and nobody is inflexibly opposing us at every point—political, ideological, economic, and military. On the contrary, our former enemies from the notorious period of confrontation are themselves now talking with us about partnership and cooperation and are helping Russia implement democratic transformations.

There is plenty of evidence of these fundamental changes. The evidence is convincing and substantial, moreover. For example, the conclusion of treaties reducing and limiting strategic offensive weapons and conventional armed forces in Europe, and the fact—which seems to have become the rule—that the Russian president is invited to the traditional meetings of G-7 heads of state and government. U.S. and NATO strategic blueprints no longer contain the old arguments about repulsing an "attack from the East" or preparing for war on a planetary scale with the aim of crushing the "evil empire" and "defending Western values."

All this really is true. But it would not only be incorrect, of course, but downright dangerous for the country and the people to assume that we are now surrounded by close friends whose only concern is how to help Russia and support it at a difficult time so that it can become truly powerful and prosperous. This approach incurs the risk of gross political mistakes that could ultimately backfire with extremely grave consequences.

Indeed, let us turn to the economic sphere, for instance. Our partners in the West are certainly not keen to face a strong competitor in the shape of Russia. Hence too their desire to immortalize our country's position in its role as a supplier of raw materials and energy sources, not at all as a supplier of high-tech products from the most up-to-date sectors of industry. Hence the drop-by-drop allocation of the long-promised multibillion aid package, the retention of the discriminatory restrictions imposed by the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls on some 100 categories of goods and technologies, and the attempts to use any means to prevent us from making inroads into the market for aerospace sector products. Nor, I think, did the recent visit to the United States by the head of the Russian Government change much on this score. Basically, the documents he signed merely record our concessions to U.S. pressure.

Or take the military sphere. Yes, the West too is in the process of cutting back its military expenditure, arms, and manpower, and reviewing its military doctrines and plans for using its armed forces. But ICBM's and ballistic missiles on U.S. submarines are still trained on installations on Russian territory and the territory of other CIS states. Intelligence activity against us has not yet been curtailed; on the contrary, it is being stepped up. NATO headquarters is still worried about maintaining the bloc's military potential and keeping a significant U.S. Armed Forces presence in Europe. Moreover, NATO still sees a threat in the East, albeit on a new level, which as a result of the unforeseen and unpredictable development of events in the former USSR countries is regarded as a source of instability.

Above I have discussed more distant countries. But what about countries close to home? The actions of intransigent nationalist elements in a number of CIS countries, for example in Ukraine—after all, it is hard for these people to choose any definition other than enemies of Russia. This is not concealed and is even emphasized in every possible way by their organizers. Or, for example, the Baltic countries' attitude to the Russian-speaking population, these countries' completely unjustified and simply astronomical financial claims against Moscow, and the endless delays in formulating appropriate agreements—what is all this, a manifestation of sincere and friendly feelings?

It would be possible to cite lengthy examples of this sort of thing. But to be fair it should be noted that this attitude to Russia and Russians is engendered not just by excessive nationalist ambitions and bitter memories of the distant and not so distant past, when sovereign Moscow used to dictate its will and everybody else had to obediently execute it. Even today some of Russia's actions provoke justifiable grounds for suspecting it of hegemonic tendencies and an unwillingness to consider the interests and will of the sovereign republics formed from the debris of the USSR.

Unfortunately, there are also examples of this. Ranging from the categorical wording of the claims to Sevastopol issued by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to the secretly prepared and hastily initiated exchange of bank notes issued between 1961 and 1992, which inflicted a grievous blow to the economies of a number of Russia's CIS partners. It is clear that the intrigues surrounding the valves on the gas pipelines leading from Russia to neighboring countries—Ukraine, Belarus, and so forth—belong to the same category. Of course, these countries'

debts for energy sources are excessively large, and they place a heavy burden on Russia's shoulders. But this problem, like all the rest incidentally, should be resolved by civilized methods, not by cutting off gas to the debtors in both the literal and the figurative sense. This is not how you treat friends.

On the whole, Russia is finding it hard to make friends. The indestructible friendship of Soviet peoples and the class fraternity with the peoples of countries in the socialist community and friendly Third World states have vanished into the mists of time. Of course, there was of course a lot of bombast, humbug, and downright hypocrisy in this friendship and fraternity. But we did have real friends too. The similarities between the historical destinies of many peoples, the community of our interests and goals, and the common nature of the tasks of ensuring security ultimately united us and has not disappeared, indeed could not disappear without trace.

Nevertheless we cannot help admitting that Russia's friends have for some reason become rather thin on the ground. And it is pointless to cite that old piece of English political wisdom: A state, it is said, has no friends, it only has national interests. It is far more apt, in my view, to recall the old legend relating how an elderly father demonstrated to his sons with an ordinary broom that it is not hard to snap each twig individually, but when they are combined in a bundle it becomes impossible to break them. This example, in all its simplicity, leads us to the conclusion that the aim of Russia's policy should not simply be to ensure that we have no enemies, but also and perhaps primarily, to ensure that we acquire friends—not friends foisted on us by an edict from above, but real, sincere, and true friends.

Naturally, we must look for these friends where the roots of friendship ought to be strongest—among Russia's CIS partners. We use this abbreviation fairly often, but somehow overlook the meaning of the words that the letters represent—Commonwealth of Independent States. The Commonwealth was to have replaced the old Union, but it is a goal we have not yet achieved. Atter all, the need for the Commonwealth is being felt more and more keenly by Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and all the other countries that became independent states overnight. This was confirmed, for example, by the meeting of the Russian and Ukrainian leaders held in Crimea. Had they not needed one another—although they realized rather too late that they did—there would have been no agreements on the Black Sea Fleet and the deployment of nuclear weapons in Ukraine.

But we should not be restricted solely by the borders of the former USSR, of course. We need to widen our circle of partners. Definite steps are being taken in this sphere. This was demonstrated, for example, by the Russian president's visits to Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. His remarks in Warsaw to the effect that there is no place for hegemony, diktat, and the political psychology of the "big brother" in Russia's new relations had a major impact all over the world.

It is to be hoped that this approach will also determine Moscow's relations with other countries both far and near. Unfortunately this approach has not yet manifested itself. As the Parisian newspaper LE MONDE noted accurately, "the Russians seem to be having great difficulty working out relations with their neighbors," we are wary of reestablishing a cordon sanitaire around Russia's borders. But in order to prevent such a cordon sanitaire from emerging in one form or another, to prevent us from being shielded from the world behind yet another "iron curtain," we also need—to put it mildly—good neighbors; we need friends in the genuine sense of the term.

However, they are unlikely to appear until we ourselves show that we are worthy of trust and friendship. Let us show this by our ability to overcome division in the highest echelons of power, by achieving political and economic stability, and presenting ourselves to the whole world as a reliable force that can always be confidently relied on without apprehension.

And then we will be able to say with certainty that we have friends everywhere. And we will not be frightened of enemies either.

Political & Media Issues

Yeltsin Sets Up Constitutional Working Group

LD0909141793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1205 GMT 9 Sep 93

["The President of the Russian Federation Has Set Out Further Procedures for Work on the Constitution—Statement by the Press Service of the Russian Federation"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the president of the Russian Federation has announced that Boris Yeltsin has issued a resolution on the preparation of the draft of the Russian constitution.

In particular, the document says:

"In connection with the submission to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet of a draft of a Russian constitution, approved by the Constitutional Conference, and in accordance with a resolution of the Russian Supreme Soviet "About work on the draft of the Russian constitution" from 20 July 1993 and point 8 of the resolution on the Constitutional Commission:

1. A working group of the Constitutional Commission is to be set up to study the draft of the Russian constitution approved by the Constitutional Conference and to prepare proposals to work out a single agreed draft of the Russian constitution.

2. Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Constitutional Commission, is to be appointed leader of the working group.

3. The working group is to present to the chairman of the Constitutional Commission, by 15 September 1993, a conclusion on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation approved by the Constitutional Conference, proposals on elaborating an agreed draft constitution of the Russian Federation, and also a draft decision of the Constitutional Commission on the procedure to implement the resolution of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet 'On work on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation' of 20 July 1993."

The Russian president also confirmed the composition of the working group. It includes:

- Ryabov, N.T.—deputy chairman of the Constitutional Commission—leader of the group
- Adrov, V.M.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Ambartsumov, Ye.A.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Bezrukov, I.A.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Zasukhin, S.F.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Zolotukhin, B.A.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Kovalev, S.A.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Kozhokin, Ye.M.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Makarkin, N.P.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Matochkin, Yu.S.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Mityukov, M.A.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Moskvich, Yu.N.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Ryzhov, Yu.A.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Rumyantsev, O.G.—executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission
- Tsann-Kay-Si, F.V.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Sheynis, V.L.—deputy executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission
- Shelov-Kovedyayev, F.V.—member of the Constitutional Commission
- Danilov, Ye. A.—specialist-expert from the Supreme Soviet Department of Federative Relations
- Ilyinskiy, I.P.—head of faculty of Moscow State Institute of International Relations
- Mamut, L.S.—chief research officer of the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- Strashun, B.A.—head of the Scientific-Consultative Council of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation
- Tumanov, V.A.—chief research officer of the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- Shablinskiy I.G.—executive editor of the information bulletin "Constitutional Conference" [Konstitutsionnoye Soveshchaniye]

Yeltsin Suffers Back Pain; Spanish Surgeon Invited

LD0909152593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep—(ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Federation presidential press service today published the following report by the doctor attending the president: "In recent days, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has had pains in the lower spinal region shooting into his legs.

As is known, during his trip to Spain in 1990 Boris Yeltsin, following an injury, suffered a severe attack of lumbrosacral radiculitis and he was operated on there.

Taking into account these circumstances, it has been decided to invite the Spanish surgeon who performed the operation to Moscow for consultations."

Yeltsin Inclined To Move 'Radically' Against Parliament

PM0909164093 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 93 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Article by Yuriy Orlik: "What Can Be Expected From the Russian President's September Offensive"]

[Text] After engaging in a little speculation about what lay behind the president's words when he promised us a September "battleground," and after failing to extract a sensible meaning, the press has calmed down. Meanwhile, the editorial office has received from reliable sources some information that offers grounds to suggest that what was said was not a slip of the tongue, no mere casual remark, but a sign that the president is really bent on decisive actions, the nature of which he preferred not to disclose in advance.

But first let us look more closely at what the president has been concerned with since his return from vacation.

Interstate relations. Foreign visits were reduced to a minimum—Yeltsin devoted only 48 hours to Warsaw, Prague, and Bratislava. He preferred to work at home. He met with virtually all the leaders of the former Union republics—Rakhmanov, Shevardnadze, Snegur, Akayev, Nazarbayev, and Aliyev, and with Kravchuk in Massandra. The first topic was the settlement of conflicts. The second—the economy. The cost of the severance of traditional economic ties has proved excessively high. Attempts at reorientation toward other economic partners have been unsuccessful. The result—declining living standards and the growth of social tension. All this prompts the leaders of these countries to seek new forms of integration—be it in the form of economic union, a new type of ruble zone, etc. This is the only way to alleviate the consequences of the disintegration of the USSR and emerge from the crisis. The increased interest in the CIS is only natural. Moldova came within a few deputies' votes of joining the Commonwealth. Geydar Aliyev has firmly dissociated himself from the course of self-isolation pursued by the republic's former leadership, and has declared Azerbaijan's intention to join the CIS.

Yeltsin is trying, together with the heads of the independent states, to put back together what fell apart after the August putsch, while recognizing that this is an extremely difficult, painstaking, and time-consuming task. In these conditions it is tactless, to say the least, to accuse the leaders of the Russian executive of being "alarmed by trends toward integration" and of seeking to "block" them. Yet that is what Khasbulatov said in a lengthy interview with DEN chief editor Prokhanov. The speaker hankers after the old great-power days, regrets having "entertained illusions" about the Belovezhskaya agreements, and laments that "the CIS is becoming negligible." At the same time, "without bragging," he insists to his sypmathetic interviewer that he, Khasbulatov, is, "as chairman of the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly, the most important official in the whole of the CIS today, above any president."

For B. Yeltsin, the leaders of the independent states are equal partners. He argues with them, disagrees, makes concessions, makes deals. He has become tougher when it is a question of Russia's geopolitical interests and protecting the Russian-speaking population's rights. He directly linked the duration of the 14th Army's presence in Moldova to the granting of special legal status to the Dniester region. While advocating the territorial integrity of Georgia, he reminded Shevardnadze of the interests of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. The proposal to Kravchuk to exchange the Black Sea Fleet and its Sevastopol base for oil—although it is hard to believe that Ukraine will be willing to agree to this—is in the same category. But Yeltsin is not threatening anyone with the launching of an air squadron or the exertion of pressure. That fosters respect among the partners and increases trust in the Russian president and Russian policy. The speaker, however, permits himself to speak insultingly of "leaders of local political elites"—referring to "captains of vassal tribes, dressed in animal skins" (from the same interview with Prokhanov). Although the speaker mentioned only one name—Dzhokhar Dudayev—judging by the general context of the discussion he was not referring to him alone.

The president and parliament. We are all sick and tired of this subject. But in order to understand the president's mood, it is necessary to repeat some points. Parliament is the main arena of the political battles that bedevil Russia. It is the brick wall that all Yeltsin's intentions run up against.

Any proposal from the president gets a hostile reception there. Irrespective of its content. Confrontation flares up on any and every issue. The microphones recognize only one word—"no." The Constitutional Conference was boycotted. The Petrozavodsk initiative—to set up a Federation Council—was rejected by parliament. The hyperinflationary budget, which the president vetoed, was adopted by the deputies. All the president's edicts aimed at developing privatization have been suspended, and parliament makes no secret of its intention to bury it, legislatively. No account was taken of the president's amendments to the Law on the Mass Media that was amended by parliament—the deputies gave their blessing to the restoration of the institution of censorship, firstly for television. The press is next in line.

When you line up all these cases, you realize that the executive is basically deprived of the opportunity to function normally, exercise its constitutional powers, and pursue the policy that, for all the difficulties of present-day life, met with support in the April referendum.

And judging by the fact that new legislative acts are on the way, nibbling away at the president's legal scope on all sides, we can expect yet another spiral of confrontation, at the risk of losing control of the country.

What is in the speaker's portfolio. Khasbulatov gave Prokhanov a glimpse. It seems that it is proposed that parliament adopt three new normative acts in the near future—"On the Mechanism for Bringing a Law Into Force After Surmounting the President's Veto," "On the Criminal Liability of Top Officials for Nonfulfillment of Supreme Soviet Laws and Decrees of Congresses," and "On Criminal Liability for Nonfulfillment of Constitutional Court Decrees." Add to that a package of constitutional amendments prepared by one of the opposition leaders, V. Isakov, chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Legislation. According to this, the Supreme Soviet confirms and releases from office not only the head of government and his deputies, but all the leading ministers. It decides the question of no confidence in the government as a whole and in individual members of it by a simple majority vote. The president is not entitled to head the executive and does not direct the cabinet's activity. In short, he becomes a figurehead. Here one must agree with the view of Russian People's Deputy Vladimir Fomin that the proposed amendments, which, beyond all doubt, will be adopted by parliament, are basically a "constitutional time bomb" under the Kremlin and Staraya Square.

How to defuse it and protect, not oneself, but the country from being blown apart—that is the question now facing the president. The analytical services of the president's team do not rule out that Yeltsin, driven into a corner, could pluck up courage to take drastic, resolute measures.

Dual power is becoming too heavy a burden on the country and people. The dividing line has long since moved down from federal level, cutting right through our public life. We have two of everything now. Local soviets and the administration. With their own press and television. Two commissions—interdepartmental and parliamentary—waging the struggle against corruption in the top echelons of power. Each with its own suitcases full of compromising material. The creative unions have split down the middle. The speaker meets with one set of writers, the president with another. Before long there will be two central televisions, two general prosecutor's offices, two supreme courts, two governments. The preconditions exist.

Sociological measures of the public mood and one's own day-to-day experience confirm that political apathy is on the increase. People, particularly in the provinces, look at what is happening in the upper strata with perplexity and disgust. They demand an end to the war of everyone against everyone and the imposition of order in the country.

And the intransigents' hopes that the people would call on them to "save the state" have patently not been vindicated. There is no faith in them. Not one of their gloomy prophecies—and they promised and invoked upon Russia rebellions, social explosions, hunger, cold—has come true. Their power is waning. There is squabbling among the leaders. Their supporters' ranks are thinning. This was confirmed by this year's August countermarches.

Nothing came of the perpetual intransigents' attempts to split the army. Yeltsin's visit to the Taman and Kantemir Divisions convinced the president that the army has recovered from the shock and will not allow itself to be dragged into political maneuvers. People in the president's entourage are letting it be known that the vacancies at the Security Ministry and Internal Affairs Ministry will be filled in the next few days by people loyal to the president's line.

Sensing that Yeltsin is maintaining his resolve not to allow parliament to lead him by the nose, Khasbulatov, without abandoning his intention to catch the president in a constitutional trap, has at the same time begun energetically seeking contacts with him. Deputies have begun to pay frequent calls at the president's administration, advocating the idea of a meeting between the president and the speaker. The editorial office has learned from relaible sources that during Khasbulatov's talk with Nazarbayev at Kazakhstan's permanent mission, the speaker also touched on this topic, in the hope that his intentions would be made known to the president. People in Yeltsin's entourage are openly skeptical about the possibility of such a meeting, believing that the time for that is past and that Khasbulatov has burned the bridges that used to lead him to the president.

What next? Yeltsin has two choices. Continue the rivalry with parliament, seek to increase the powers of the Federation Council, and go on trying to convince his political opponents that Russia cannot go on living under the old Constitution—with no particular hope of success. Or else try to change the situation radically. Sources close to the president claim that that is Yeltsin's inclination. It is a question of disbanding the Supreme Soviet and immediately setting the date for the next elections. And the president's actions in this respect will be not only decisive, but quick.

It is easy to predict the Supreme Soviet's reaction to this step by the president, if it is actually done. It is far more difficult to guess how it will be received by society. People in the president's entourage hope it will be received with understanding. The parliament, which was elected in "another country," has basically become a one-party parliament expressing the will of the National Salvation Front, and is dragging Russia backward, away from reforms. That is becoming obvious to more and more people. And the president and his policy are backed by a twice-repeated nationwide vote of confidence.

Presidential Election Campaign Viewed

PM1009094093 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 93 p 1

[Vyacheslav Kostikov article: "A Lullaby for the Contenders: Russian President Boris Yeltsin Will Not Leave His Post Before 1996"]

[Text] The presidential campaign has openly begun in Russia. Several political suitors at once have declared their readiness to play the presidential bridegroom. Their photographs are familiar, and there is no need to name names.

The preliminary selection of candidates makes it possible to form an optimistic assessment, suggesting that Russia the bride has herself achieved the first age of democratic maturity. She is still giddy and has yet to learn good manners, but in her restless youthfulness has already attained a degree of attractiveness tht gives her the right to a certain fastidiousness. She is not going to fall for the first major who asks for her hand.

It is pleasing to note that the list of suitors includes neither Anpilov, nor Konstantinov, nor Chelnokov. It seems that the passion has died down in the breast of one of the first batch of suitors—the charming and forceful Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy]. The shoulder boards of the enigmatic Sterligov have somehow lost their luster against the background of the new contenders. And Comrade Tuleyev looks very much like a provincial mesalliance.

In short, a very useful and, I would say, remarkable process of natural selection is taking place, which will not allow any lowering of standards as regards intellect, looks, or experience. All the contenders are to some degree involved in high-level politics or economics. Casual marriages have become unthinkable for Russia. The path it has traveled has given the country and its politicians useful state experience.

However jealous, or prejudiced by jealousy, we may be in our attitude to any given contender, we really should all, both right and left, rejoice together that a real political elite is emerging in the country, and is putting forward its leaders through the normal democratic procedure.

There is also another positive aspect to this season of wooing. The condition of Russia itself. I doubt whether she would have so many charming and eager beaux, were she not regarded as a "rich bride." I do not remember so many people thronging at her doorstep, eager for her hand, two years ago, when democratic Russia was only an expectation, only a promising schoolgirl. If Russia were indeed such a sorry spectacle as SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA seeks to depict—in rags, with hand outstretched for alms—there would hardly be a line of contenders waiting at her door.

Russia is slowly but surely extricating herself from the economic and political crisis. She is formulating her own political strategy increasingly clearly, and upholding national interests increasingly tenaciously and successfully.

Of course, it is mere coincidence that the contenders declared their marital intentions immediately after B.N. Yeltsin's return from the Crimea. But this coincidence contains some meaning. A glass of "Massandra" [wine from Crimean resort visited by Yeltsin] represented a kind of political "Rubicon" which Russia has crossed with Yeltsin. The dangerous "Gorbachev syndrome," whereby, as V. Lukin, Russian ambassador to the United States, put it, a hasty "merger" of positions took place without any bargaining in reciprocal concessions, has been overcome.

It is certainly no coincidence that in recent days Moscow has witnessed a real "parade" of leaders from the nearby independent states. It was not without surprise that we discovered that the path to Moscow from the capitals of the former Union republics is not too badly overgrown, That all you have to do is pull up a few prickly nationalist weeds, and the way will be cleared for a "new deal" which will determine the geopolitical contours and strategic parameters of a new community. I do not think a politician as experienced as G.A. Aliyev would have let fall purely by accident to journalists the remark that after his meeting with B.N. Yeltsin it was "as if he had never left the Kremlin."

Only blinkered nationalists like those who burn Russian flags in response to normal political maneuverings fail to see today that the economic union which has ripened, in every sense, out of the blood and sufferings of millions of inhabitants of Russia and of the nearby foreign lands, will logically and inevitably be followed by political union. It is a question of time. But to deny this imperative is to fail to see or hear history and the real aspirations of millions of ordinary citizens.

The era of democratic romanticism in politics has come to an end in Russia. Russia is learning, and to a significant extent has already learned, to act carefully and pragmatically, skillfully combining essential flexibility with calculated firmness. The style of Russian diplomacy is changing before our eyes. In September 1993 it is no longer what it was in September 1992. The jingoists' complaints about the Foreign Ministry are nothing but political inertia.

Today, incidentally, there are no grounds to divide the president and government from the reasonable, patriotic public. The policy of B.N. Yeltsin and V.S. Chernomyrdin takes fully "on board" the public's psychological mood and political orientation. When it comes to true Russian patriotism, and not speculation, the president's team has nothing to learn from the opposition.

The president's policy, both domestic and foreign, embraces such a wide spectrum of Russia's interests that the contenders for the president's chair face a difficult task of political identification. It is easy to announce a forthcoming wedding. It is not so easy to offer Russia a

program that, while remaining in the sphere of reality, rather than the sphere of election promises, yet constitutes something more attractive than what B.N. Yeltsin is already doing. It is easy to say, echoing Stolypin, that "we do not need great upheavals, we need a great Russia." It is painfully difficult to walk that road through the marshy ground of crisis.

The list of new contenders that has appeared offers reason to hope that Russia's future will not fall into the hands of adventurists. It should, however, be noted that between the application for the post of leader and the actual presidency there lies a certain interval of time. In actual fact, this interval is defined by the year 1996.

B.N. Yeltsin has stated publicly that he does not intend to run for a new term. However, he has so far given no indication that he intends to step down early. In fact, all B.N. Yeltsin's recent actions indicate that it is his intention, indeed his firm intention, to go to the end of his term. Naturally, in the heat of the struggle politicians and journalists may withdraw their confidence from the president as much as they like, but the whole point is that the people have put their confidence in B.N. Yeltsin—twice, in fact. I would describe any attempts to pull the rug out before the appointed time as naive, to put it mildly.

Indisputably, the march of time is implacable. In the historical context, 1996 is not far off. We must think about the continuity of power and the presidency. Those tragic moments in Russia's history when the country has been unprepared for the transfer of power must not be allowed to go on repeating themselves endlessly. Russia does not need nationwide lamentations or universal terrors on a change of leader. In a civilized state, such as Russia is trying to become, the leaders who could succeed should be known beforehand. These leaders, if they receive appropriate support from the public and the parties, should certainly take part in politics at the highest level. It is also necessary to consider the prestige and the political "running in" of such people. To some extent they should be the gold reserve of Russian politics. On condition that this gold bears a hallmark that is recognized by all of society.

The question of the leadership succession in Russia is too important to be decided on the basis of ambition, rivalry, and struggle. Hints, secrets, and intrigues are totally inappropriate here. The worst possible thing would be if, from behind the backs of the people who are known to society (whether or not we like them), some political intriguer whom nobody knows were to spring forth, riding the crest of some political cataclysm or other.

In this respect we must be glad that, probably for the first time in recent Russian history, we are becoming familiar beforehand with the names of some of the possible "dauphins." This gives both them and the president a lofty and mutual responsibility. For the contenders—to prepare themselves for the difficult mission of serving Russia, and not to get bogged down in preelection political intriguing. For the president—to help the future leaders to gain the necessary experience and stature by involving them in the most responsible missions. Russia must be delivered from the hazards of election roulette. The future successor must be surrounded by the broadest social consensus.

Democratic Russia's 'Chameleon-Like Tactics' Assailed

PM0909120193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 3

[Sergey Turchenko report: "What Our Special Correspondent Saw at the 'Democratic' Rehearsal. Colored Bubbles"]

[Text] Last Saturday "Democratic Russia" and affiliated political organizations marching under the banner of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet faction "Accord for Progress" held a routine rehearsal which, as they say, was closed to the general public. The Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Soviet's hall, where it was held, was well guarded by some drunk young thugs. Even for members of "Democratic Russia" entrance was limited to those with special passes bearing the stamp of the "Democratic Russia"s' Moscow organization. However, your SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent succeeded in attending this event for a short time.

When listening to the speakers I continually caught myself thinking: Am I not at a session of an irreconcilable opposition bloc? Harsh assessments of the situation in the country were made and a severe attitude toward the "democrats" in power was displayed... This is just a summary of the ways in which the defenders of capitalism evaluate their own activities and the policies which they have foisted on society.

The democrats have proved that they are useless, incapable of doing anything and of taking responsibility for anything (N. Shmelev). The country and its economy are sick, they are lying on the operating table, around which there is not a single professional surgeon. Medical assistants pass by incessantly, poking about with their scalpels wherever they see fit, saying that whatever happens things must be cut out (I. Kivelidi).

The union state's collapse is a crime. It is necessary to form a union of republics once again (I. Kivelidi). Objectively speaking, a situation has developed for the former USSR republics to form an economic union (G. Yavlinskiy).

There has been enough destruction, we should readopt a normal human attitude (V. Lukin, written message from Washington).

Two years after the democrats came to power we are in a state of crisis. The center itself is incapable of carrying out reforms in the country and is not allowing the regions to do so. People do not even have any conception of the

reforms. It is also necessary to realize that the majority of the population does not want to become capitalist. There is a threat of civil war here (G. Popov).

A Constitution imposed by presidential edict is a mark of revolutionary impatience which is fraught with serious consequences (Ye. Kozhokin). It really is a myth that good democrats attempt to make the people happy while bad partycrats hinder them in this (Yu. Boldyrev). And so on and so forth...

So what happened to the "democrats," why did they begin to go red so suddenly? The very title of Saturday's event provides an answer to this question: a methodological seminar "Democratic Organizations on the Eve of the Parliamentary Elections. The Strategy and Tactics of the Regional Organizations of Russian Sociopolitical Structures Orientated Toward Democracy for All During the Preparations for the Parliamentary Elections." That is, basic training of junior "democrats" by senior "democrats" took place, showing them how to fit in with prevailing public opinion so that during the election campaign "Democratic Russia's" proteges can once more look like they are expressing the aspirations of the people at whose cost the election will be won.

Apart from the training in political chameleonism, the seminar's participants also received guidance in practical questions. It is worth reproducing several of them.

The new elections should be universal. It is necessary to replace the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the local soviets. For this a new law on elections is required. Many democrats consider that this law should be introduced by presidential edict. Here it is understood that the draft will be made by us. But if the president signs another edict, what will we do then? No, let the Congress itself adopt a law on elections. But we have to use the whole range of nonparliamentary battle techniques: pickets, strikes etc. We should put pressure on the Congress to adopt this law (G. Popov).

The democrats do not need an individual victory in the elections as they are not capable of doing anything. They need to form a coalition with those who are at least capable of doing something, for example with the corps of directors (N. Shmelev).

In the election campaign it is not right to reject the current political elite, which has many virtues. Suffice it to say that thanks to "Democratic Russia," Gaydar's government held out for 13 months, which was not a lot less than it might have lasted (L. Ponomarev).

The successful businessman I. Kivelidi, who spoke in particular on behalf of the democratized Russian entrepreneurs, somewhat surprised those present:

"If the highest-ranking politician is always wanting to pull the trigger when he sees a shadow, his mood also transmits itself to society, which has been losing its stability for a long time now. There is a lack of people capable of making measured decisions at the country's helm. This is why we have seriously decided to get into power and we will achieve this from the level of the local soviets to that of the presidency, in which position we plan to install Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. So, gentlemen democrats, do not expect us to play the role of paymaster in the election campaign as was the case before. We are now going to subsidize ourselves..."

There is, of course, no point in feeling sorry for the democrats as they have enough sponsors both in the West and within the country. But Kivelidi's statement is very telling. It clearly points up the reforms' capitalist orientation after the elections, if the "democrats" together with the homegrown bourgeoisie are victorious in them. Revelations about this were also heard coming from other impatient speakers, who did not hold back from muddying the waters somewhat as regards our future in the wake of the elections.

As the majority of the population does not wish to move toward capitalism, it is necessary, as they say, to get it there step by step. Why do we need a transitional economic policy for the next 20 or so years? In order to carry it out, it is necessary to form a powerful bloc of centrist forces in which the main players would be the "Russian Democratic Reforms Movement" and "Democratic Russia" (G. Popov). Private ownership of land already exists. But there is at the moment no secondary capitalist redistribution of land. We will not simply have to distribute land but subsequently help to concentrate it in capitalist hands (Yu. Boldyrev). The most important thing is to create markets. Of course, if there are markets we cannot even begin to tackle the task of wiping out inflation and the budget deficit. But markets are what is most important. Right down to separating the social sphere from the state and enterprises, and passing responsibility for it to the citizens themselves. Let the people bear the operating costs themselves. Without this you cannot create a housing market (G. Yavlinskiy). Yes, we do already have very rich and very poor people, but this process is natural and it is only necessary to control it so that it does not lead to an explosion of popular feeling (I. Kivelidi).

So, you can draw several, albeit very general, conclusions from what we heard at the seminar.

The "democrats" have begun an active election campaign. In it, they have once again chosen the tactic of hypocrisy, temporarily raising patriotic slogans and assuming a red coloration in order to fool the inexperienced voters once more with their promises, to remain in power with their assistance, and to lead society further along the road of impoverishment and the enrichment of a small group of people who are sucking the people's blood. They need the elections very much to replace the people's deputies who support a strong state with stooges for the foreign sponsored bourgeoisie, by making use of the financial and propaganda advantage they have over the patriotic opposition.

The bourgeois mafia itself also needs the elections very much as it no longer wishes to conduct its policies through "democratic" middlemen and has set itself the task of getting into power on its own.

If these plans are carried out, they will have even more tragic consequences for the ordinary people than the past two years. The patriotic forces will have in these very inauspicious circumstances to decisively lead and organize the struggle to foil these plans and to explain to the voters the chameleon-like tactics of the "democrats," so that the people do not once again bring bloodsuckers and oppressors to power through their own actions.

Accord for Fatherland Group Outlines Program

PM1009081593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "Yet Another Movement for the Salvation of the Fatherland. Yu. Skokov Sets the Goals, But Says Nothing About the Means of Achieving Them"]

[Text] It would be no exaggeration to say that the 8 September Moscow press conference, at which a new social-political formation—the "Accord for the Fatherland" committee—was presented, disappointed the majority of the journalists who had been invited. Contrary to expectations (and they were due primarily to Yu. Skokov's emergence as an autonomous and independent political figure), there were no sensational statements.

The gist of what was said at the press conference can be expressed in the words of Yu. Skokov, who, undoubtedly, is the leader of the new formation: "We are not a party or a public movement, but an action group, calling for the achievement of an accord for the Fatherland. We are not in opposition to the government, president, and parliament; we are urging everyone to cooperate..." It was apparent from the answers to the questions that we are nonetheless talking about the creation of a broad public movement, which sets itself the aim of strengthening statehood, gives priority to human rights, and intends to rely first and foremost on the Federation's members in its activities. The movement's leaders advocate early elections for all branches of power, but they believe that they cannot be held in today's conditions. They intend to use their own influence and that of the movement that is being set up to pressure the warring branches of federal power into moving toward accord and cooperation.

Nothing more detailed about the movement's political and eocnomic programs was ascertained. One understands that they are in the process of being elaborated and will be finalized in the course of the Assembly of Peoples and Citizens of Russia, which the movement's initiators intend to hold in October. So it is not entirely clear on what basis "all sober-minded forces in Russia" can join together.

The entire press conference proceedings and, moreover, the composition of the committee—N. Fedorov, R. Abdulatipov, Yu. Skokov, L. Vartazarova, N. Travkin, O. Poptsov—provides grounds for concluding that we are witnessing an attempt to create a new political structure by certain politicians who are outside the grand political arena at the moment for various reasons. This fact, apparently, is the main reason for their getting together. So the lack of clear-cut political principles and complete absence of an economic credo are understandable. Which, in turn, is already creating prerequisites for future differences and splits in a movement that has not yet been established.

Splits Within National Salvation Front Discussed

PM1009085393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 93 p 1

[Georgiy Marinin report incorporating interview with Russian Supreme Soviet Deputy Nikolay Pavlov: "'Comrade No. 1? Comrade No. 17 Reporting...' National Salvation Front Has More and More Commanders"]

[Text] You only have to recall the hullabaloo that arose a year ago when the antipresidential and antiparliamentary (at the time) opposition formed a single fist—the National Salvation Front [NSF]. Endless rallies were held throughout Moscow and posters proclaiming "The Motherland Is Calling!" were hung everywhere but in toilets, and the happy (until Yeltsin's ban) leaders of the new political entity promised in countless interviews to take the helm of power the following spring. When the Constitutional Court deemed the existence of the above organization legitimate—there was nothing left to do, the most unbelieving oppositionists were delighted.

However, a squabble between the "salvationists" themselves stood in the way of this wise task being put into practice and the Communist press, which had previously praised the front to the skies, suddenly fell upon it, accusing it of inactivity equivalent to an aimless waste of time. Movements that had previously heeded submissively the NSF's lofty instructions began to show their teeth: Stanislav Terekhov, leader of the "Officers Union," said that "the front's structures, particularly its managerial echelon, are not at all active," although he finally graciously agreed "to make one last attempt to resuscitate (this procedure is usually carried out on corpses dead less than five minutes—G.M.) the NSF"; whereas the National Republican Party of Russia [NRPR] led by Nikolay Lysenko left the "salvationist" crew once and for all, never to return. What of Lysenko—even the front's founding fathers Cochairmen Sergey Baburin and Nikolay Pavlov, who were in at the beginning and virtually played first fiddle (along with the Russian National Union [RNU] which they lead), also said that they were leaving the NSF in view of the total impossibility of remaining there any longer. I wanted to find out what could have brought these people to the end of their tether? A midnight telephone call to Russian

Federation Supreme Soviet Deputy Pavlov's apartment shed some light on the muddled situation.

[Pavlov] All in all it has been well thought out—Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Communist Party Central Executive Committee, is officially a member of the NSF as cochairman, while his organization is not (the organization did not exist when the front was formed in October 1992). So things have worked out well for the Communists, they can influence the NSF's decision.

[Marinin] Does the NSF have any prospects?

[Pavlov] That is hard to say. People are now too alarmed by nationalism. Moreover, the front, as it presents itself, is not a "Russia-wide party" at all since there is no movement in Russia today that has the support of the whole population.

[Marinin] What influenced Baburin's and Lysenko's decisions?

[Pavlov] You'll have to ask Baburin that. But I think that he was simply obeying the decision of the Board of the RNU which is, incidentally, shortly to become a party. As for Lysenko, I think that the NRPR is the party of the future: It contains people who, unlike some, know what they are saying and know what they are doing: He just feels cramped in the NSF now. [Pavlov ends]

That is the crux of the matter—parties! Since swords have been crossed since the spring over the presidential and parliamentary elections—but who is to stand for president, who is to be nominated as deputies? And what do they all want when the united opposition has begun to break up, forming fresh blocs and nominating their own candidates, of whom there are now dozens, and why does Baburin need the NSF when he has a real chance of becoming parliament chairman? Why should he campaign for the front to come to power when it is effectively up to its eyes in power—after all, NSF Cochairmen Isakov, Astafyev, and the Kursk Communist windbag [solovey-kommunist] Sayenko hold far from minor posts in the Supreme Soviet, heading various committees and subcommittees: Getting one of the front's decrees through parliament (on Serbia, for instance) is nothing to the NSF men now. But at the same time the NSF, forgetting that it is not as yet a state organ of government (like its namesake in Romania), occasionally goes too far, issuing such wise decrees as "abolishing the institution of the presidency in Russia" and "forming civil Self-Defense Forces (the abbreviation SS [from the Russian Sily Samooborony] is also used—G.M) as the NSF's base combat cells"—it is proposed to move on shortly from setting up platoons to battalions and regiments and then to civilian support staffs for the civil defense forces. In addition to "combating the antipeople regime," the "defense personnel's" task will be to..."ensure the purity of territories and monitor morality." And you cannot see who is getting more training from the NSF—thugs or cleaners who like looking through cracks in doors. However, the NSF has secured itself against other cochairmen leaving—there are now 17 of them instead of the former nine. If things go any further, every "front member" will soon be given a title. Since power is sweet even in dreams.

Burbulis Reaffirms Support of Yeltsin, 'Radical Reforms'

PM0909141593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 Sep 93 p 2

["First part" of two-part interview with former State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis by Irina Goryunova under the "Power and Politics" rubric: "'All the Intensity of Life...' Former State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis Has Seen a Great Deal in His Life, but Remains True To the Reforms"]

[Text] [Goryunova] Gennadiy Eduardovich! In an IZVESTIYA interview, you called the first reformist Russian government, in which you were first deputy chairman, a "government of combat engineers." At the same time you predicted that it would definitely be blown up in the "minefield of power," but before that it would be forced to travel the route of accelerating Soviet totalitarianism. You were one of the first to be "blown up." Do you perceive yourself as a "combat engineer" on a minefield again today, or a creator, a strategist, or a functionary? Which?

[Burbulis] The main task of a combat engineer is neutralization. "The minefield of power" is a metaphor that can be used even now, maybe even more accurately, because it expresses the activity and conditions of the work that President Boris Yeltsin and his comrades-in-arms, among whom I count myself, are carrying out. This is not self-advertisement or a public demonstration of heightened risk in our work, but an objective assessment of reality. We really are combat engineers disposing of mines that were planted for decades in all spheres of life on the territory of the former Union. We did not conceive of our activity as blowing up this system. This is essentially wrong. The Soviet system itself was in a situation whereby it was disintegrating in a dangerous way. And everything that is now being discussed with enhanced interest as "the work of Yeltsin and his team": "the Belovezhskaya forest," "the government of liberal reforms," "January 1992—the beginning of the liberalization of the economy," "end of 1992—the need for constitutional, political reform,"—all these are actions that have been undertaken not in the name of destruction, but in the name of creation.

[Goryunova] What would you do differently if you were to go back in the past to your activity as state secretary under the Russian president? Which actions from that period do you regret as a politician, and what do you feel ill at ease about?

[Burbulis] This is a very delicate issue—mistakes.

[Goryunova] Do you consider this question to be out of place?

[Burbulis] No, why? I am just setting the tone of your work as a journalist... I consider three basic mistakes to be my own. Since I was party to their implementation, then I fully bear responsibility for them.

The first mistake. I was unable to achieve the creation of a firm social base for the Russian transformations, or to convince people of the need for it, in a timely fashion. To put it more simply, we were obliged to create a political organization in a most active way, a "reform party" acting as the foundation for the social base which radical transformations in society and the state demand. Along with Boris Nikolayevich, we vacillated for too long on this, because we had a naive belief that you can fruitfully combine, in the person of the president, the image of leader of reforms and social arbiter. Although Yeltsin's biggest political victory is the fact that Russia has avoided bloody social upheavals. At the same time, I believe that today the absence of a political organization is having the most serious effect.

Second mistake. It is unforgivable for a professional politician and statesman to disregard the role and significance of the apparatus of the state service as a mechanism of the elaboration, adoption, and implementation of the decisions of the president and the government. Our biggest misfortune was that 85 percent of the absolutely correct, as I see it, decisions, which we adopted with such difficulty, were blocked by this apparatus. Sometimes this was done deliberately, sometimes through the indifference of officials, and at other times it was through professional inability to understand the essence of a particular government decree. Robbed of an influential prop in the form of state officialdom at that culminating moment and robbed of legal protection at the transitional period, we were forced to appeasingly reflect, vacillate, and bide our time. In other words, our mistake was the lack of will toward the authorities realized in clear-cut, considered work with the mechanism of the implementation of this will in the form of the state official apparatus.

Finally, the third mistake, expressed in the underestimation of the special rules of work with the deputies.

Everything becomes clear in the course of life. The soviets will try to preserve and reproduce themselves at any price. But sooner or later Russia will liberate itself from the Bolshevik legacy and acquire a civilized representative organ of power. In our specific case, however, when the deputies adopted the Declaration on Russia's Sovereignty at the first Congress with rapture and spiritual elation, and were as one; when these same deputies, by a majority of votes, prevented the internal coup by the "six" and were able to support their chairman within the framework of the course that we were elaborating together at that time; when the same deputies founded the presidency and participated most actively in the elections of the first Russian president; when these same deputies in August 1991 overcame the putsch with their decisions in the Supreme Soviet, and in December ratified the "Belovezhskaya decisions;" and when these deputies almost unanimously supported the emergency powers of the president, who had become head of government; and today the majority of these deputies are in opposition, that means that, at some point, an extremely significant mistake was made.

[Goryunova] What was the specific mistake, in your opinion?

[Burbulis] The mistake took the form of an inability, reluctance, and incapability to maintain business and state relations with the majority of the deputies, as well as informal, human, and personal relations. The relations that should have ensured a direct link with the president and the chosen course. In many respects this is a question of psychology and the ethics of relations, rather than politics. Maybe weariness built up or maybe it was ignorance. As a result, many people who became involved in deputies' work as supporters of the reforms became disillusioned in them and started to support diametrically opposite interests.

[Goryunova] Since we have mentioned the branches of power, I would like to find out your viewpoint on the current disputes on reelections. Should the Supreme Soviet alone be reelected by democratic means or should all the present branches of power, including the president, be reelected?

[Burbulis] My stance includes two separate plans: a general political plan, and a specifically Russian plan—the idea of elections in the heat of the present moment.

Elections today are the only political-legal mechanism enabling us to overcome existing contradictions, irrespective of which of the political groups and social strata has a chance of winning. They are in themselves a fruitful mechanism. This is one of the natural laws of the transitional period, and the failure to understand this is one of the main misfortunes of our reality. Some people are fervently trying to save something that cannot be reestablished—the Soviet, Communist regime. Others are zealously in a hurry to announce the full-fledged, independent Russian state with its democratic acquisitions. Neither understand that essentially this is a question of a transitional period, a long one, with its own natural laws, the forecast and discovery of which can help us to resolve our current problems more successfully.

As for the specific Russian plan, I would mobilize all the resources of the civil society, the resourceful trade union movement, all social associations, resources connected with the economy of the market administration, and finally, the resources of the president, who received unprecedented support at the referendum, in order to secure elections of the new parliament. But if Boris Yeltsin has to put forward his own candidacy as the definitive argument and moral challenge for these elections to be held, then I think that he should do so. Not as an equal in terms of historical necessity, but as his own contribution to these elections. And the president could do this as he knows how, convincingly, opportunely, and

ahead of schedule, which he is famous for doing, on the basis of the political and human intuition that he possesses.

[Goryunova] You once said that Yeltsin possesses an "amazing ability to learn." Can you now confirm this quality of Boris Yeltsin's that you noted then, if you sum up, for instance, the political results of the past two years (since August 1991)?

[Burbulis] I find it difficult to repeat this with full conviction today if only because I see him far more rarely. But I hope that this important quality is unremovable because otherwise that would make him a different man now.

[Goryunova] Does Boris Nikolayevich consult with you now? How often are you in contact with him?

[Burbulis] Most often it is on my initiative.

[Goryunova] Today, as an independent politician, you are creating a new election bloc, which the press has presented as a "union of pragmatists—the bud of centrism in Russia"...

[Burbulis] You evidently read the opposition press too attentively. They are keen to treat this as a novelty in Burbulis's stance. With the aim of alienating me from the president and his comrades-in-arms, and setting me against them. I was and remain a supporter of radical reforms in Russia. For me the need for and possibility of forming a new social and state system in Russia are completely obvious. Any attempt to improve the economic structure without eliminating the roots of the social structure and the state machinery amid the disintegration of which we are living today, is doomed. And in this respect I always present myself as a confirmed comrade-in-arms of Boris Yeltsin.

Views Elections, Corruption

PM0909142793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Sep 93 p 2

["Second part" of a two-part interview with former State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis by Irina Goryunova under the "Power and Politics" rubric: "'All the Intensity of Life...' Former State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis Has Seen a Great Deal in His Life, but Remains True To the Reforms"]

[Text] [Goryunova] At the same time you cannot ignore the reality of the upcoming elections. How do you see it?

[Burbulis] There will be three main blocs. Since we have no parties capable of operating as a real political force at the moment and will not have any for the immediate future the discussion will center on civil and political associations. This means, hypothetically, a bloc of revanchists and restorationists (communists, nationalists, and pseudocentrists), that is, those who condemn Yeltsin and his supporters for the transformations undertaken in the past two years. The second bloc is the reformers (the president, his supporters in the government and among the deputies, and those social groups who said "yes" in the referendum in April and who are persistently demanding resolute action from Yeltsin today).

But according to the laws of the transitional period it is obvious that a third bloc will be formed, one which will publicly renounce all ideological goals. It will declare itself a purely civil bloc, people of action, pragmatists.

[Goryunova] What will that bloc's program be?

[Burbulis] They will say to people: As for the revanchists everything is clear, the majority of the country's population will not accept a return to the old ways. The president and those who had an opportunity to wield power in those past few years could have done a lot but have not achieved much. We do not judge them but will do things differently. We will establish order in the economy and in the law enforcement system and under us every Russian will know where his interests, protected by the law and supported by the authorities, actually lie.

I assert that an intelligent election program presupposes from our side—the president's reformist bloc—a keen and very committed attitude to that kind of pragmatic position in the elections. We must not alienate it because these people and associations are a basis for the continuation of our reforms.

[Goryunova] Do you believe that the future belongs to the pragmatists?

[Burbulis] I believe that the organizations that used to be with the president all these years are extremely short of people with a professional knowledge of the different spheres of management. And if the pragmatists form a definite election alliance with Russia's present reformers I am confident that this will benefit the country's future.

[Goryunova] Gennadiy Eduardovich! Little is known about "Strategy," the humanitarian and politological center led by you. What are this organization's aims and does it reflect your present and future political strategy?

[Burbulis] I do not think that little is known about our center. I am simply an opponent of the kind of information that is purely for publicity's sake. Our organization must generate interest in itself first and foremost by its actions. Everything that we are striving for is clearly reflected in the name: the "Strategy" humanitarian and politological center. We have our sights set on the future, fully geared to the strategic goals and values connected with Russia's reality. We have borrowed the term "strategy" from the military and have given it a human—humanitarian—meaning. Second—there is the important combination of the concepts "humanitarian" and "politological," demonstrating an understanding of the fact that the most desperate politicization which is not based on the intellect of the nation and its spiritual culture is not worth much. All our practical and research projects are oriented toward three ideas.

First, they must bear an interdisciplinary and comprehensive character. In September we are due to begin issuing the "Strategy" center's expert analytical publications. Their distinguishing feature will be that their economic, politological, and legal analyses will not exist as separate entities. We will work to achieve an integrated and systematic vision of today's processes, a vision that is inherent in the normal man. Our task is to achieve the kind of combination in our assessment, analysis, and forecast that would ensure a comprehensive view of Russia's processes taking into account our multidimensional history and traditions.

Second, we want to ensure that politics, economics, and culture form the three axes determining the framework of our research and practical programs. The center has now elaborated a major regional program. We are really interested in creating our own branches in the regions of the Russian Federation and actively support such vital and fundamental questions as the privatization of large industrial collectives and the search for precise sources of investment for the various regions, that is, those structures of the market economy without which there is no point in talking about a reliably protected state. In this connection the center and its activists are participating in current political work, in the Constitutional Conference, the study of the contemporary situation, and the search for a proper, legal solution to the constitutional deadlock.

As an extragovernmental social organization we actively represent the interests of the Russian reformers in the international arena. Sound programs are emerging for cooperation with specialists from the leading countries of the world: the United States, France, Germany, Japan, and many others.

Finally, we ourselves are initiators of what I see as basic research projects. In particular, on 1 December this year the center is holding an international symposium entitled: "Russia and the Contemporary World. Strategy of the Path and Forms of Synthesis." An international research collective will be formed based on the results of the symposium. Its task will be to find a form in which Russia can integrate itself into the contemporary world process: the form in which our reforms can be attuned to the need for reform which exists in many other countries of the world today. And finally at the end of the century and the millennium where is our place in conditions of changing civilizations? At the beginning of the century Russia's bolshevik experiment greatly predetermined the shape of the world map and now, at the end of the century is again changing its aspect and that of Europe. The future of the world community will also depend on how we resolve today's problems.

[Goryunova] What do you think about the present mutual accusations of corruption involving members of the government, the Supreme Soviet, and the vice president?

[Burbulis] It seems to me that in this situation some things are absolutely obvious. I would attribute several factors to them. If you agree that we used to have a criminal state—the USSR—which functioned on the basis of the authorities' cynicism toward the law and the population's nihilistic attitude toward the law, and if you accept the fact that by the late eighties this state had outlived itself historically, you will not deny that the revelation of corruption is one of the natural phenomena of that decay. The activeness of structures of a criminal character is a natural form of that decay.

When the political struggle assumes such a scale, when a system in its death throes is disintegrating, and when Russia's normal, human existence is reemerging from within it, it is even more obvious that what this outmoded system is trying to do is to prolong its own life (this is the point of the present-day political struggle). It is perfectly natural that the theme of the struggle against corruption and the protection of civil rights and the theme of people deceived by the authorities becomes a form of calling card in this political struggle. And instead of a coordinated and effective struggle against corruption conducted day by day and based on all the conceivable means available it assumes the character of public political mutual accusations. This robs people of their acute perception of the essence of the phenomenon and causes disillusionment.

[Goryunova] In your view is this a deliberately orchestrated action?

[Burbulis] It is a form of the political struggle in conditions of the transitional period. It must be understood finally that no country resolves its economic and political problems in isolation from the rest of the world. In this connection there is another aspect of the "struggle against corruption" that is underestimated today, one which is connected with the interests of the international criminal system.

[Goryunova] What do you mean?

[Burbulis] I shall give you an example. We were often criticized for Russia's incomprehensible position in centers of military conflicts. But the time has finally come to understand that today military conflicts that outwardly have a national hue are in fact the most lucrative form of international business. The horrible thing is that a real war, no matter which piece of soil it is fought on, is beneficial to certain forces. This sinister profit bears an international character. Thus, our politically acute question "on the fight against corruption" will constantly find answers far outside our borders and have something in common with selfish interests here.

[Goryunova] In your view what are the realistic ways out of the deadlock of mutual accusations that has been created?

[Burbulis] I think that the real struggle against corruption is not helped by any sudden attacks and mutual accusations. It needs a system of actions. First of all this

means a precise and consistent solution of the question of the redistribution of property in Russia. The sooner we have property owners here with something to protect and something to invest the sooner we will switch from the sphere of the primary redistribution of capital to investment in long-term programs and the less scope there will be for corruption. Since we all understand corruption as a violation of the law for personal gain connected with official powers, it means that a law on state service must be adopted as soon as possible to define the real prestige, powers, and rights of state employees which at the same time protects them and prescribes a certain responsibility for their actions. Until there is a legal regulation of the functioning of the state system from the standpoint of the place and role of state employees, corruption will continue to be an inalienable form of society's existence.

In addition, it is necessary to regulate the power structure along the vertical axis in the country and this must be connected with a precise definition of the powers and competence of the federal, republic, oblast, and kray organs. Lawlessness, violations of the law, and corruption flourish in those places where there is a lack of real oversight and justice. Increasing the strength of the judicial apparatus is necessary but it is not an end in itself: Increasing the pay of the supervisory staff in the prosecutor's office is necessary but it is not an end in itself. None of these measures will work in isolation from the systematic solution of the real problem. That is why it is important that Russian citizens understand the real origins of this "plague" and know that this is not today's acquisition or yesterday's evil as far as Russia is concerned.

It needs joint efforts here from the professionals, state and civil institutions, and the local organs of power.

But the lifeline we must cling to if we are to survive is the implementation of political reform in the country. So long as we have no clear power corresponding to the system of executive discipline and until the law enforcement organs become really independent of the political struggle today we can hardly count on a realistic struggle against corruption.

[Goryunova] Can the adoption of a new Constitution have a positive effect on this problem?

[Burbulis] I do not think that we will be able to adopt a new Constitution in the immediate future and there is no urgent need for that. Russia needs a Constitution which has the maximum consensus in society. And we need a Constitution elaborated and adopted in such a way that it is respected by the country's citizens and observed by the relevant organs of power. That is why political logic demands that we focus our efforts on two fundamental tasks: finding the legally correct path to the new elections of the representative organs of power and adopting an interim constitutional law for two-three years, which would clearly define the powers of the president, the government, and the supreme legislative organ; where state management ends and self-management begins; and what the rights of the regions, republics, krays, and oblasts are. And by observing these jointly elaborated rules of political and economic conduct, which suit everyone, we can then adopt the new Constitution in a few years time.

Furthermore, this must be done by the new parliament not in conditions of a heightened political struggle but in conditions of a stable state of society.

[Goryunova] Yes, but how soon will these conditions emerge?

[Burbulis] I would like to stress that today stability in Russia is ensured to a greater extent by the position of those millions of active citizens who will not allow a return to the past and are making their presence known in various forms in the new conditions. These people provide the guarantee that no political force will be able to return Russia to the times of troubles, these people are the buttress of the president and the reformers. The more sensitive and attentive our attitude toward this social base the sooner we will arrive at a period of stability in society.

[Goryunova] In that connection how do you assess the work of the mass media?

[Burbulis] Your question enables me to name another mistake in this work. I am talking about the lack of a professionally supported system of information and propaganda capable of influencing society in the light of the new ideas and life values which are now being acquired in our country. I say this as someone who bears a great responsibility for the present state of the mass media. I would apply three concepts to the mass media today: freedom, professionalism, and arbitrariness.

The mass media are a reflection of reality. We have lost the old forms of controling and shaping television, radio, and the press. We have what is really one of the most important achievements—the right to freedom of speech. And from time to time we use it quite successfully. But unfortunately that right is often either in the hands of incompetents or in the hands of the politically committed and does not correspond to the legal and financial organization of the functioning of information systems.

I am talking about the search for the most precise model in the transitional period. At the moment (former) state publications and ideologically and repressively committed publications immediately proclaim themselves a collective of founders and then start looking around for someone to fund them and the next day they already have a sponsor but have a very vague notion of the consequences of that sponsorship.

But this does not mean that we need to panic. What we are seeing is the development of journalists of a new type guided primarily by their own knowledge and convictions. I can see a new type of organizers of the mass

media being molded here, combining the talents of a manager and a journalist. And finally there are sinister attempts by the opposition to suppress the mass media.

[Goryunova] Gennadiy Eduardovich! If ever you had to leave Russia, which country would you choose to live in?

[Burbulis] I have never thought about that and I hope that I never have to.

[Goryunova] In your view why do the people in power today make such assiduous efforts to shield their wives from publicity and the television cameras? Is this the bitter experience of Brezhnev or Gorbachev?

[Burbulis] I think that we completely lack the kind of political culture that is typical of, for example, the United States. In addition, I believe that flaunting one's wife is as absurd as trying to conceal her. It is simply that every age has its own rules of conduct. All this will come and there will be new politicians with wives who will understand and help them. The time for these natural temptations has not come yet.

[Goryunova] Do you have some kind of "human tuning fork"—an individual who provides you with inner spiritual guidance?

[Burbulis] I think that I do. Even though at different moments in life different spiritual affinities emerge. But right now, today, I feel closest to Anton Chekhov. Not the Chekhov well known to school children. Chekhov the individual. This means that I understand him as a Russian intellectual with complete inner freedom. A man who inwardly is considerably deeper and more intelligent than he tried to show outwardly. Chekhov combined within himself the most valuable and difficult individual qualities: an absolutely unshakable faith in creativity, life, his own morality based on experience, his ethical position, and the ability to listen to other people and see into their souls without hurrying to judge or eulogize them.

The note that Chekhov sounded, I am convinced, will sound all the louder in our life. This is a combination of an outwardly extremely modest and unassuming man with one who is inwardly very stable and multifaceted—a philosopher and a writer.

[Goryunova] Do you like the theater and the movies? Which directors and actors do you especially like?

[Text] [Burbulis] If we are talking about this country's art then a very important stage in my spiritual development is connected with the movie makers Sergey Paradzhanov and Andrey Tarkovskiy. That will never change. At the same time I have great respect as a human being and a viewer for the movie work of Nikita Mikhalkov. It is especially distressing when an artist of such stature ruins himself by "antics" in other spheres of activity.

[Goryunova] I would like to end with a test question that readers may comment on. Which lines of poetry reveal the present state of your soul?

[Burbulis] I cannot entirely claim that the lines of poetry which I am going to quote now accompany me from dawn to dusk but they do reflect an important part of my soul.

Maksimilian Voloshin wrote an outstanding poem entitled "House of the Poet" in which he tries to hear his whole life through his spiritual cradle of Koktebel [a Crimean resort]. Here are the closing lines:

Be stern, as the wind. Inexhaustible, as the sea. Full of memory, as the earth. Love the distant sail of the ship and the song of the waves murmuring on the vast oceans. All the intensity of life, all the ages and races, lives in you—forever, now, right now.

I feel that I am filled with that intensity.

Former FIS Official Interviewed on Intelligence Activities

PM0909135593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Leonid Shebarshin, retired Foreign Intelligence Service staffer, by Nikolay Dolgopolov; place and date not given: "Intelligence Ace on Current Situation"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Leonid Shebarshin worked for the Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] for 30 years. He rose to the rank of its chief, but in fall 1991 Shebarshin was forced to retire. One cannot agree with all the intelligence ace's opinions. But it is interesting to hear them.

[Dolgopolov] Leonid Vladimirovich, you undoubtedly hold the prize for the number of times your name is mentioned behind the scenes. You have been tipped for all kind of posts, you have even been "appointed" security minister.

[Shebarshin] To no avail. I personally have no desire to return to state service. I have come to the conclusion that now you don't have to hold a state post to serve the Fatherland.

[Dolgopolov] Nonetheless are you not sad to find yourself far-removed from stormy political life in your prime?

[Shebarshin] The age of 58 is not the prime of life for an intelligence officer. His prime is somewhere between the ages of 30 and 45. From then on experience starts to be a constraining factor and ties you down. Experience helps you to survive, but not to take wing. But my life today is fairly full and I still consider my work useful.

[Dolgopolov] I know that you are in charge of some association, but I don't know precisely which one.

[Shebarshin] The Russian National Service for Economic Security. Some two-and-a-half years ago a number of my KGB colleagues had to leave the Service for which

we had worked all our adult lives. Then came the idea of setting up a joint-stock company. We are autonomous today, we have no sponsors or founders, we ourselves are in charge of our team.

[Dolgopolov] I have still not entirely understood what specifically you do.

[Shebarshin] Well, it is very simple. New and old economic financial structures cannot exist without keeping commercial secrets, without physical guards. We recommend people who are able to take charge of security services or departments, we ensure the security of buildings, and select the necessary technical equipment for this. We have around 20 men. You cannot get rich doing this, but it is feasible to ensure yourself a tolerable living by doing a useful job for society.

[Dolgopolov] Oh, Leonid Vladimirovich, if only your men had been guarding U.S. diplomat Fred Woodruff, who recently died tragically and mysteriously in Georgia. The killers have not yet been found, but it has emerged that in terms of importance Woodruff was almost one of the CIA's top 20 staffers...

[Shebarshin] Woodruff was definitely a prominent intelligence officer. I do not go around drawing up lists of the top 10 or top 20. But he was a fairly well known man. People are saying that Woodruff helped set up Shevardnadze's security service. Would a high-ranking staffer be sent from the States to do that? I think that was just a pretext. Georgia still has enough specialists of its own to provide bodyguards with excellent training. This is such a delicate field. It does to some extent characterize the relations between states. The fact that a request was made not to colleagues in Moscow, but to Washington is highly indicative in itself. Although that is not the crux of the matter: The CIA has set up residencies in all the former Union republics—now independent countries.

[Dolgopolov] In all of them?

[Shebarshin] Absolutely all of them.

[Dolgopolov] Even ours?

[Shebarshin] There have always been agents in Russia. But during the cold war our counterintelligence service worked effectively. The Americans, whose activity in Moscow and Leningrad was paralyzed to a considerable extent, have always acknowledged that. But today, as far as I can judge, U.S. intelligence is exceptionally active in and around Russia—particularly in the Baltics. I think that there are big residencies there. They also exist in Ukraine, Belarus... But the priority is still the same: Russia.

[Dolgopolov] I have the impression that you are laying it on somewhat thick. After all I have read that our special service has established almost partnership relations with many foreign special services.

[Shebarshin] There is one unpublicized rule in relations between special services. He who is stronger exploits these relations. In my time we had links with dozens of special services. With some they were equal. But there were also those from which we derived greater benefit. I am referring to Third World countries and African states. That is why I would not harbor any particular illusions as regards the benefit that our side derives from its relations with the Americans, Germans, French, and British. I would monitor them very strictly. Now, as for your comment about my laying it on too thick, foreign military intelligence delegations are traveling around all our military-industrial and scientific installations. Our atomic, nuclear, and military industries have been entirely exposed.

[Dolgopolov] Leonid Vladimirovich, are you serious?

[Shebarshin] I think that we are serious people.

[Dolgopolov] So, in your opinion, it is irresponsible people that are allowing this.

[Shebarshin] This is partially happening through thoughtlessness: In many respects an unrealistic view of what we can expect from the West and what it is willing to give us has prevailed. For more than two years we have heard promises of aid. I do not mean humanitarian support: There we will get through anything you like. I am talking about major joint economic projects. But we are only expected to provide energy resources and they have no intention of turning Russia into an economic rival.

[Dolgopolov] Is that your personal conclusion?

[Shebarshin] Since leaving the service I have nothing but personal conclusions. Some people's euphoria at the thought that the "West will help without fail" has developed from thoughtlessness into a political stance.

[Dolgopolov] If we are so weak, open, and touchingly gullible, why does the United States, which is also not experiencing the best of times, have such a vast budget for the intelligence departments?

[Shebarshin] How much has been appropriated? Around 30 billion?

[Dolgopolov] The figure stands at 28 billion.

[Shebarshin] Over the last few years the figure has remained fairly stable but there is still the covert expenditure. I think that the Americans' approach to intelligence activity is the same as their approach to many other areas of state work—extremely sensible and realistic. Intelligence is not the instrument of a cold or hot war, but an instrument of state policy. It is the country's eyes and ears, so essential both in wartime and in peacetime. That is the answer to your question as to why they are spending so much.

[Dolgopolov] Leonid Vladimirovich, how much is spent on our Russian eyes and ears?

[Shebarshin] I don't know what the budget is now. I don't think that the figures are commensurate with the U.S. figures. In my time the whole KGB, including the FIS, spent 5 billion a year.

[Dolgopolov] Dollars?

[Shebarshin] What do you mean dollars! Rubles.

[Dolgopolov] But it was probably hard to buy anyone with these Soviet budget funds.

[Shebarshin] Not very hard. Vigorous use was made of the material factor—or to put it in other terms, "bribes." People sold themselves for bribes. We are dependent on our position. Both ministers and even prime ministers.

[Dolgopolov] So, you think that your successors are still able to buy other people's secrets?

[Shebarshin] I hope they are. But all intelligence services use different methods—brutal methods [ostryye formy] or just political sympathies—to recruit influential people as secret partners.

[Dolgopolov] I don't understand what you mean by "brutal methods."

[Shebarshin] The most brutal methods used by the intelligence service? The worst of all is blackmail. When compromising material is obtained or compiled and a person is faced with a choice. Either he risks his entire future, social position, career, and family life, or he works for a foreign intelligence service, also putting himself at risk. That is how people are threatened and broken. I categorically disapprove of this method.

[Dolgopolov] Nevertheless you once said that your Service was "well-positioned in the leadership of the world's leading states." What did that mean? And how would you attain those "positions"?

[Shebarshin] There was the idea of political sympathies. When Kim Philby's famous "Five" were operating in Britain, one British leader acknowledged that the British special services did not have any secrets that were not known to the Russians. We did indeed have agents of influence in the leadership of the world powers. That is as old as intelligence itself. For some reason one now gets the impression that people were surprised to hear of the existence of this group of agents. There were certainly unofficial contacts or what we call confidential relations. But agents were simply at work also.

[Dolgopolov] There are probably some taboos which can now be lifted and we can finally talk about...

[Shebarshin] ...No, we still cannot. I hope that people will learn about our most important successes in around 50 years' time, provided that someone doesn't sell them.

Media Officials Oppose Proposed Federal Council

LD0909183693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A list of members of the Federal Council who are to defend freedom of speech on state television has been published. It will begin work very soon. It became known today that Vsevolod Bogdanov, chairman of the Russian Union of Journalists, and Aleksey Simonov, chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Defense of Glasnost, have refused to join this Federal Council. They gave the reason for their decision as being the sharply negative view of their television colleages toward the council and the unclear legal status of the Council. In their opinion, there are grounds to suppose that the activity of the Council will hardly be independent of the unpredictable commands of the corps of deputies.

I would remind that a strike committee has been set up in Russia's Television and Radio Company. The committee's leaders stated today that it is prepared for energetic actions if the Supervision Council set up by Parliament interferes in the Company's broadcasting policy and thus violates the principles of freedom of speech.

New Travel Regulations Detailed

PM0709112193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 93 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Mikhail Arutyunov, chairman of the subcommittee for refugees' affairs of the Russian Federation Committee for Human Rights, by Marina Lebedeva; place and date not given: "New Law on Entry and Exit Does Not Violate Citizens' Rights, But Does Not Give Them Full Freedom Either"]

[Text] The first Russian Law "On the Procedure for Exit from the Russian Federation and Entry Into the Territory of the Russian Federation," popularly called the Law on Exit and Entry for short, has been adopted.

While parliamentarians and specialists were working on it, life went on as normal: Russian citizens somehow went abroad and somehow came back again. And since January of this year [as published] they have been subject to the law of the former Union which we inherited.

As of 1994 we will no doubt live according to the new Russian Federation law—the document now awaiting the president's signature.

Will it give the citizens greater rights? Will it release people, not in words but in reality, from the ordeal and humiliation of filling out documents? Will we learn to consider a trip abroad something normal, as in civilized countries, rather than a great event?

Correspondent Marina Lebedeva turned to Mikhail Arutyunov, leader of the group that drew up the Russian law and chairman of the subcommittee for refugees' affairs of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Human Rights, with these and other questions which our newspaper's readers have submitted.

[Lebedeva] But is the Russian law not just a second edition of the Union law, amplified and slightly reworked?

[Arutyunov] It is a fundamentally different law of a different time and a different society —one which is freeing itself from the fetters of its totalitarian legacy, from suspicion and intolerance toward people going abroad. From the pointing finger of the official...

[Lebedeva] Mikhail Georgiyevich, the Union law was sensational. What passions seethed around it in the Union parliament! Yet the law was adopted. The West called it "Gorbachev's revolutionary reform" and the "USSR's historic new step."

[Arutyunov] I am not denying its significance. Actually, in that period the very fact of adopting a law on exit and entry was a step forward. But the law appeared under pressure from the world public, it was formed within the totalitarian system, and it was prepared by specialists used to serving that system. Hence the wording in the law which violates our citizens' rights. We tried to avoid this when creating the Russian law.

[Lebedeva] How were these violations of rights manifested?

[Arutyunov] Sometimes one word was enough to do this. For example, under the Russian law a Russian citizen clearly cannot be denied the right to enter our country. Under any circumstances. The Union law says: "A USSR citizen cannot arbitrarily be deprived of the right to enter the USSR." I am sorry, but can he be "non-arbitrarily" deprived of the right? What does "arbitrarily" mean? Just that certain organs in certain cases may say: Don't let him in!

Or another example. The following is entered in the Russian law: Exit from Russia cannot be restricted except in cases stipulated in the present law. These cases are listed in Article 5. The absence of such a categorical approach in the Union law left a loophole for legally binding acts, which could unceremoniously extend the list of bans, and therefore increase the number of people who could not be in charge of their own lives.

[Lebedeva] So is the "class" of people who cannot travel abroad, the "refuseniks," going to disappear altogether now? What is going to happen to those who are privy to state secrets?

[Arutyunov] Unfortunately there still are and will continue to be refuseniks. And the commission for refuseniks remains. But I hope that it will have less work. When the Russian law is implemented, temporary restrictions on travel abroad for those who are party to state secrets remain only for individuals who are privy to top secret information and information of special importance. That is, people with what is known as Clearance Level Three will no longer have restricted rights of travel abroad—only "those party to state secrets."

[Lebedeva] And how many people are there with Clearance Level Three?

[Arutyunov] Millions. It is the biggest "hush-hush" category. It is amazing how many people in our country have been placed in this category! Incidentally, specialists from the Ministry of Security have proposed that these people be freed from restrictions. That is what I mean when I say that people with a new world view have been working on the Russian law.

[Lebedeva] Which other categories have "had their hands untied" by the new law?

[Arutyunov] Notably draftees. Today a young person who obtains a passport immediately comes up against an infringement of his rights. He is obliged to register at the military commissariat and thus becomes attached to a draft office. Although realistically he is only drafted into service two years later at the earliest, when he is 18 years old, under Union law a draftee cannot travel abroad. The Russian law only makes this restriction from the moment a decision is made on conscription for military service, when the order on this has been issued and the call-up papers have arrived.

At the request of parents or other lawful representatives, citizens deemed not legally competent may leave under their charge.

[Lebedeva] I am prepared to agree that the new law accords with the spirit of the times. But for the overwhelming majority of our citizens, after all, trips abroad are becoming impossible for financial reasons. A return ticket to New York, for instance, costs almost 700,000 in rubles. Can you imagine: A person has a job contract, he has not really needed a high level of clearance, knows the language, has a good specialization, and is highly-qualified, yet he cannot make use of the wonderful words of the law on unhindered exit. He simply does not have the money to go.

In this connection, many of our readers see this as a ruse, a way of slamming the door on trips abroad, if not by political means, then by economic means.

[Arutyunov] There is no "ruse" here. Everything is going up—airplane tickets, the drawing up of documents, and so on. There is one solution: We must learn how to earn money. Even in the West not everyone can afford to fly out to other countries. Our country is in an economic crisis, and we have to come out of it; there is no other solution. Well, let those who can earn that kind of money go. As we get out of the crisis, there will doubtless be more people like that.

[Lebedeva] When they are abroad, people often find themselves in unexpected situations and need help and

protection from the homeland. Union law says nothing about this, and what happens in practice is depressing—embassies where the stricken have turned have shown little sympathy for their fellow citizens. Article 2 of the Russian law does no more than hint at protection and patronage. And that on condition that that people register at the embassy on arrival in a country. But what if someone were unable to do this, or had not yet manag- ! to do so, and only went there after the trouble had already occurred? To my mind, this article is couched in the spirit of the Union law...

[Arutyunov] You could be right. It is true that the wording is ambiguous. But I can promise you that, when we are presented with a legally binding act for ratification (and this is what is going to happen with all documents like this), particularly with regard to consular service rules, we will approach this aspect most carefully. One thing is for sure: We must put an end to the lamentable practice that you mentioned.

[Lebedeva] As chairman of the subcommittee for refugees, you must know how many people from the former Union republics live and work on Russian territory without having Russian citizenship. This includes both refugees and people as yet unable to secure that status. They include businessmen, journalists, and people of other professions whose work is connected with travel abroad. But they are being refused passports for travel abroad because they have no residence permit. They cannot return to their own country to get a passport for various reasons. What are they supposed to do?

[Arutyunov] Obtain Russian citizenship. At present any citizen of the former Union, regardless of where he lives, can obtain this in his place of residence on the territory of the Russian Federation. And a Russian citizen, as the law we have been discussing says, has the right to enter and to leave.

[Lebedeva] Will it not happen that the more liberal Russian law will devastate our country? After all, you cannot deny that the "brain drain" problem exists?

[Arutyunov] Yes, it is unpleasant to acknowledge that scientists have poorer working conditions in our country than abroad. And it is pointless to try to keep them here by force. But who is leaving? At the computer manufacturing scientific research institute where I was a department head of for many years the average earnings are now 30,000. Nevertheless most people do not leave, and for some of them the reason is their sense of patriotism. And the majority of those who have left or are leaving decided to do so not because of their poor earnings but because they find it impossible to realize their potential here.

It is time that we responded to entry-exit problems really calmly. In the civilized world this has long been the norm. Let people have the possibility of living where they want to. Both in our country and worldwide. Rostropovich, Lyubimov, and Voynovich have lived over there and they have lived over here, but they did not stop being our people... We do not need a law that is like a fetter for people.

Economic Issues

Government Discusses Fuel Problems, Economics Ministry

LD0909140393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The federal purpose-orientated program "Fuel-Energy" for the coming year was examined at the session of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of Russia today. The session was chaired by Oleg Soskovets, first prime minister of the government. Discussion of the program exposed a sharp decline in the sector. Thus, extracting oil this year compared with 1985 will decrease by more than 76 million tonnes. Approximately 40 percent of the coal- extracting equipment is practically worn out. There are doubts that one will manage to build new power units at nuclear power stations with financing from the budget. The "Fuel-Energy" program, which the Supreme Soviet of Russia is to ratify, provides for an increase in oil and gas output as well as the more in-depth processing of the raw material. During the discussion it was noted that, while there is an acute shortage of energy resources in the country, a considerable part of them is exported, moreover frequently by criminal structures.

A heated discussion was evoked among those attending the session by the draft provisions on the status of the Ministry of the Economy of Russia. Thus, from the viewpoint of Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays, in market conditions the leading ministry in the country should be the Ministry of Finance and not the Ministry of the Economy. On this point, Yuriy Yarov, the other deputy prime minister, noted, and not without irony, that whereas formerly Russia had queues in its shops, now the queues are forming at the financial bodies. In the opinion of Oleg Lobov, first deputy head of government, state regulation of the country's economy is simply a must. It exists in all the world's developed countries, and such regulation does not mean rolling back to the administrative-command system.

Incidentally, it was recognized as expedient that a final solution to this issue should be decided in the presence of Viktor Chernomyrdin, the head of government.

Fails To Agree on Lobov's Proposals

LD0909162493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] The Russian Government Presidium was finally unable to reach a common view today with regard to the reorganization of the Economics Ministry. The draft of

these changes presented by Economics Minister Oleg Lobov at the sitting came in for criticism. At the same time, the critics did not expound any constructive view of their own of the Economics Ministry. It was decided to continue the discussion at the next sitting, which would necessarily be chaired by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Officials Differ on Privatization

PM0909121993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Mikhail Berger and Valeriy Konovalov article: "Russia's Top Statesmen Start Up Correspondence To Save the Economy"]

[Text] A stormy correspondence relating to conceptual economic problems has been started up in the upper echelon of the Russian executive. Less than a week had elapsed after Economy Minister Oleg Lobov sent the country's president the letter "On the Economic Situation in the Country and Urgent Measures To Stabilize It," when reports appeared on a new message to the head of state on an economic theme, to which the first vice premier proved to be privy.

The second document, which was learned of during the celebration of City Day in the capital, figures as a joint note from Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov and Vice Premier Oleg Lobov. Yuriy Luzhkov and Oleg Lobov acted as tactical allies for a quite definite reason. They were united by rejection of privatization "Chubays-style." It has been ascertained that the note in question was an action by the mayor of Moscow supported by the vice premier.

Yuriy Luzhkov subsequently presented that note as a joint document by Luzhkov-Lobov and declared that Boris Yeltsin had approved the document. It is not yet clear what form this approval took.

As regards the specific contents of the note, they appear rather vague in the account by the employees involved in creating it. It says, to all appearances, that it is necessary to suspend privatization and get to the bottom of the problems that have arisen in the course of implementing it. It is possible to assume, however, that the coincidence of the positions of the mayor and the vice premier on this point (suspending the current privatization) will prove to have been exhausted. To judge from the way privatization has so far been carried out in Moscow, particularly the privatization scheme created for Moscow's Lenin Komsomol Motor Vehicle Plant, the "fourth version" of privatization—the transfer of property to labor collectives—is being implemented in the capital without prior arrangement.

In his own note to the president 30 August, Lobov proposes abandoning the all-around free distribution of accumulated wealth. A considerable part of it must be sold, Lobov believes, and he cites the example of East European countries. If provision is being made in the Czech Republic, Lobov writes, for a specially created fund to receive $15-17 billion as a result of privatization, then, according to his estimates, in terms of the scale of Russia this would mean a minimum of $200 billion. Not bad money, something like 200 trillion rubles [R] at the market rate. True, here Oleg Lobov does not explain where people will be found in Russia who are able to fork out even one-fourth of that amount.

At the same time it is hardly possible to consider a situation normal when the state parts with its own property and makes a loss instead of a profit on the sale. The holding of check auctions costs a lot of money but does not produce an income. The Ministry of the Economy proposes revaluing fixed capital with a coefficient of 100 and, at the same time, indexing the nominal value of the voucher. Citing Lobov, they name a figure of R250,000. Whether this will be for new vouchers or whether it is proposed to make this the price of those already issued is an open question.

The problem of the participation of foreign investors in privatization is also connected with the vouchers' low value. By law there are no grounds for preventing a strong and profitable plant from being sold for the price of two or three Mercedes, but it would also be strange to concur in this. The only saving feature at present is the fact that under existing legislation state securities—which is what vouchers, in particular, are—can be acquired by foreign purchasers only with the permission of the Ministry of Finance. There have been masses of applications in this connection, and the Ministry of Finance, not having grounds to refuse and, at the same time, not wishing to agree, simply stays silent in reply. Understandably, things cannot continue like this for long.

Commenting on a report on the Luzhkov-Lobov note, Anatoliy Chubays, head of the Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property], declared that the increased activity by the capital's mayor is connected with the fact that two weeks ago the Russian Goskomimushchestvo set up a commission to check on all the privatization deals concluded in the capital. The Russian Federation Constitutional Court has already ruled as illegal 8,000 deals relating to small-scale privatization in Moscow. In the opinion of the Goskomimushchestvo chairman, the note to the president is a preemptive strike by the mayor, who fears the results of the commission's work.

At the same time people in Luzhkov's entourage have declared that the creation of the Goskomimushchestvo commission is merely a continuation of the quite lengthy wrangling between Chubays and Luzhkov over fundamental issues of privatization.

As regards the president's project for the indexation of fixed capital and privatization checks, which appeared recently, its authorship has also already been ascribed to Lobov and Luzhkov. In this case, however, the first vice premier undoubtedly takes priority. It has been learned

that the document was prepared without any involvement by the mayor and approved by him only in principle. It is a far more important fact here that this document was not agreed with the Goskomimushchestvo.

The more complex the situation in the economy, the more projects to save it and saviors proper appear. The stormy correspondence over this between top officials and the president, as mentioned above, is just a small part of what is going around the country's main offices in this connection. There would be no great harm in this, and maybe we really could associate hopes of an improvement in the situation with some of these messages, if it were not for one circumstance. The authors of opposite concepts (in our case Luzhkov-Lobov on the one hand and Chubays on the other) [both] assure us that the president has given unconditional support to precisely their position.

Central Bank Says Foreign Debt Reaches $72.5 Billion

LD0909203393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russia's foreign debt is quite large. According to data supplied by the Central Bank today, we owe $72.5 billion.

Bad Weather Hits Harvest; Sugar Shortfall Expected

PM0909150593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 93

[By Valeriy Golubev and Vakhtang Mebonia; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Golubev] Fall field work is usually at its peak in Russia during the first 10 days of September. The grain, potato, and vegetable harvest is still in progress and winter sowing is under way...

Bad weather is hampering the work of combine harvesters, and that on top of the fact that there are some 20,000 fewer of them than last year. The pace of the harvest has slowed down considerably. And it could well happen that the abundant grain crop will remain in the fields, as has happened more than once before. To date grain has been harvested from only 58 percent of the area sown.

Sugar beet growers are beginning to lift the beets. This year's planting of this staple food crop has been reduced by 120,000 hectares in Russia. Each of these hectares represents an average of around 2,000 kg of sugar. It has to be admitted that, even under the USSR, Russian producers were not able to meet the republic's requirement for sugar. The average annual shortfall totals around 5 million tonnes. Traditionally the main sugar production was concentrated in Ukraine where sugar refineries were, at least to some extent, reconstructed, new ones were built, and farming techniques were improved. The Russian sugar refining industry, on the other hand, is in a pretty parlous state. Many refineries were built back at the beginning of this century and most of them run on the skill and enthusiasm of their workforce. The sector does not need just retooling, it needs rebuilding. In short, there is no prospect of a sweet life in the foreseeable future.

Military Issues

Deputy Defense Minister Meets Enterprise, Union Leaders

PM0909172293 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 93 p 1

[Report by Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate: "On the Eve of Important Decisions"]

[Text] Andrey Kokoshin, Russian Federation first deputy defense minister, and a group of generals representing the principal clients at the military department took part in a conference of leaders of enterprises and trade unions from the Moscow region, held in the city of Zhukovskiy near Moscow, under the auspices of the League of Assistance to Defense Enterprises. Also taking part were Moscow and Moscow Oblast administration leaders, leaders of the Russian Federation Committee for Defense Sectors of Industry, and representatives of the Association of Trade Unions of Defense Sectors of Industry.

The conference discussed the state of affairs at enterprises fulfilling the state defense order. Their leaders noted, in particular, that only about one-third of the funds allocated by the state to the defense order actually go on arms purchases—the rest is swallowed up by taxes and the maintenance of the social sphere. The conference participants discussed a number of concrete measures connected with finding a way out of the difficult situation in which a large proportion of the Moscow region's industrial enterprises find themselves.

There was a hopeful response to the report that Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers—Government of Russia, in the course of A. Kokoshin's 8 September report, was briefed in detail on the state of affairs as regards financing the Armed Forces, including the fulfillment of the defense order, and intends to adopt in the near future the most resolute measures to cover the state's debt to the Army and Navy, defense enterprises, and law enforcement organs. That would enable military units and enterprises to prepare for the winter and complete plans for combat training and the fulfillment of the defense order, and would also alleviate the drastically heightened social tension.

At the end of the meeting the first deputy defense minister, on behalf of the Defense Ministry collegium and all the Armed Forces, expressed gratitude to the defense enterprises' collectives for their efforts in these very difficult conditions to work with great intensity to fulfill the defense order and to create new models of arms and equipment.

Colonel General Vyacheslav Mironov, chief of armaments of the Russian Federation Armed Forces, took part in a similar conference for the Nizhniy Novgorod group of defense enterprises.

Official Comments on Defense Industry Conversion, Sales

LD0909185693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0953 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikolay Krupenik and Lev Frolov]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 9 Sep—In Russia, the 770 enterprises of the former military-industrial complex are now undergoing conversion, but 160 are on the verge of coming to a standstill or are out of operation. The volume of military orders fell last year to 30 percent of the 1991 level. Especially alarming is the situation regarding defense science, which has lost up to one-quarter of its intellectual potential because of the collapse of military orders and the lack of finance for research and development. Government measures to financially stabilize defense enterprises have been unable to halt the slump in production. This data was cited at the international conference "Research Intensive Technologies and Conversion-93" by Viktor Glukhikh, Chairman of the Committee for Defense Industries.

As regards the complexity of the aims of military-industrial conversion, Russia is unrivalled. This is explained by the unprecedented scale of reduction in plants making weapons and military equipment and economic reform as a whole. However, having proclaimed in 1988 the political decision on conversion, the state started implementing it straight away, which undoubtedly did not produce the expected results, Viktor Glukhikh stressed.

Even though the conversion program has yet to be approved in parliament, a package of 14 industrial programs has been put together. A preliminary assessment of the cost of implementing them in 1993 is R [rubles] 554 billion. However, guaranteed funding has been promised for two projects only: The development of civil aviation and the revival of the Russian fleet. The current deficit for conversion needs is R80 billion.

Glukhikh believes that the military-industrial complex should become an industry that earns foreign currency. Experts have estimated that demand for Russian military equipment could amount to $25-30 billion per annum, but volume of sales is dwindling. Seven years ago the former Soviet Union sold 38 percent of all exported weapons, with the United States accounting for 30 percent. Russia's share has now fallen to 17 percent, while that of the United States has reached 58 percent.

Glukhikh believes that the mechanism of conversion should be as follows: A list should be compiled of enterprises of the former military-industrial complex whose products are in demand on the world market, a state order should be established for them, they should be granted tax discounts, legal protection, and other incentives. Enterprises whose products do not find a market should be subjected to compulsory conversion and switched to civilian production. They should be privatized.

Shokhin Views Future of Defense Industry Exports

LD0909211693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1504 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod, 9 Sep—The procedures for exporting Russian defense industry products will be discussed in the near future at a session of the interdepartmental commission on military and technical cooperation with foreign countries. Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, chairman of the commission, said this today at a meeting of defense enterprise bosses participating in the first Russian international exhibition fair in Nizhniy Novgorod.

According to him, many of the proposals of the heads of defense industries—concerned at the fall in military production, wholesale conversion, and lack of money—deserve attention, in particular the proposals by Nizhniy Novgorod enterprises for the creation of regional industrial companies and the unlicensed supply of spare parts for weapons and military equipment to countries which in previous years bought Soviet weapons.

The deputy prime minister had difficulty in answering a question on how to improve exports. "Either the state buys the products from defense industries for rubles, or gives them the right to work directly with potential buyers," he said. He said this will be decided at the commission's session.

In Aleksandr Shokhin's opinion, a certain liberalization of the government's policies concerning weapons and military equipment exports "will allow the insufficient financing of the military order to be compensated somewhat." He stressed, however, that Russia's lack of a military doctrine, and also the minimal defense order for 1994 deprives defense enterprise directors of the necessary guiding points.

Grachev Lauds Military Finance Service

PM0909160193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Guarding the State's Funds. 75 Years of the Military Finance Service"]

[Text] The Russian Federation defense minister has issued an order in connection with the 75th anniversary of the Finance Service. It notes the military finance specialists' selfless service to the fatherland and their great contribution to creating and developing Russia's defense complex.

"The Finance Service's role in ensuring the material provision of the Russian Federation Armed Forces," the order says, "increased particularly with the onset of radical economic transformations in the country connected with the transition to market relations.

"At a time of acute economic crisis the military finance specialists and economists are taking the necessary measures to ensure the uninterrupted financing of the Army and Navy, and social protection for servicemen, civilian personnel, Russian Federation Defense Ministry pensioners, and their family members, and to implement military reform in a planned fashion. The Finance Service has played a great role in drawing up and implementing the package of military laws."

The defense minister congratulated the men of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry's Main Directorate for the Military Budget and Financing, and the finance service of Armed Forces branches of service, districts, groups of troops, fleets, large strategic formations, combat arms, Russian Federation Defense Ministry main and central directorates, combined and other military units, institutes, military educational establishments, and Russian Federation Defense Ministry enterprises and organizations on this important date, and expressed confidence that the Russian Federation Armed Forces Finance Service would continue to do a quality job of resolving its assigned tasks of providing financial backup for the Army and Navy.

The defense minister commended a large group of military finance specialists for their conscientious approach to their duties, and their industriousness and initiative in resolving the tasks of ensuring financial backup for the Russian Federation Armed Forces and of implementing measures to provide social protection for servicemen and their family members.

Airborne Troops Conduct Exercises

LD0909173393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By correspondent Aleksandr Ostrovskiy; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Ostrovskiy] For six days now, command and staff exercises for airborne assault troopers, and the Military Transport Aviation of the Leningrad Military District have been going on. Usually such exercises are carried out only for the commanders and only on tactical maps. The current war game is the dropping of military equipment and personnel of the Pskov Airborne Assault Division, a division that for the first time in the last few years is not participating in ethnic conflicts, but is engaged in serious training, although the weather on the ground and in the sky is variable, and the conditions of the military exercise are extremely stringent.

[Ye. Podkolzin, commander of the airborne assault troops] The first stage, the main and most crucial stage is the drop. It was very successful.

[V. Yefanov] We completed the task in a first class manner. The pilots showed that they knew their job well.

Air Show Highlights Aircraft, Space Industries

PM0909133393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1245 GMT 6 Sep 93

[From the "Business in Russia" program]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified correspondent] Business activities are encompassing a growing number of spheres of our life. The process of commercialization has also affected the aircraft industry. Aircraft are no longer produced in our country only by world-famous enterprises like the Tupolev, Ilyushin, or Mikoyan Design Bureaus, but also by new companies which have sprung up only in the last two or three years. All aircraft and helicopter producers displayed their output at the International Aerospace Salon during the past week. Our producers' latest designs were shown at the exhibition, including the An-124, the aircraft with the biggest freight capacity in the world. It can carry up to 150 tonnes of freight. As well as the Mi-26 freight helicopter with a 20-tonne cargo capacity; the Tu-204 and Il-114 passenger airliners fitted with Russian-made highly economical engines, and other aircraft which are in no way inferior to the best models in the world. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Small two- to four-seater aircraft and helicopters for personal use were also on show. Increasing integration between our and foreign companies has been observed in recent years. Development of Russian airliners is under way for which foreign companies will supply engines and radioelectronic equipment.

Cooperation with foreign companies has also spread to space exploration. Four flights by French cosmonauts on the Mir complex are to take place on a commercial basis before the year 2000, and two flights by European Space Agency cosmonauts in 1994 and 1995. The feasibility of setting up a joint-stock company with the participation of Russian, U.S., French, and Italian firms for the development and manufacture of rocket engines based on Russian propulsion units and Western electronic

control systems is being investigated. Creditors are not very willing to invest in this production sphere, preferring to invest in more short-term projects.

However, despite everything, the Russian aircraft industry remains up to the mark. It is not inferior to Western producers, and as regards a number of indicators it is even superior to them.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov 'Ready' for Dialogue With Yeltsin

LD1009090393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0823 GMT 10 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep—The Russian Parliament has decided to address President Boris Yeltsin with a proposal on the need for a dialogue. Deputy Sergey Peruanskiy's proposal on it was supported today by the Supreme Soviet.

"For some time now the Supreme Soviet has had contacts with the president via the Constitutional Court," he said. "Many problems have accumulated, which require a direct dialogue with the president." Let us be the first to take a step toward cooperation between the branches of power, he proposed.

Ruslan Khasbulatov supported this idea. "At any time the chairman of the Supreme Soviet is ready to enter into a dialogue or a discussion of any problem," Ruslan Khasbulatov noted. However, he made accusations at "the other side" that "businesslike and normal contacts have been disrupted". "If the president has not taken upon himself the obligation of a kind of being the father to all the peoples, we should take this obligation upon ourselves," the speaker of the parliament stressed. "We are ready for talks and any compromises within the framework of the Constitution and the law."

He again repeated his point that the present crisis in Russia lies in the system of executive power.

Deputy Boris Tarasov recalled that leaders of 10 deputies' factions have already addressed the president with a proposal on contacts and mutual understanding. "The issue has already been decided beforehand by this goodwill measure of the deputy corps' representatives," he noted.

Parliament To Reconsider Draft Laws on Banking

LD0909123693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0626 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By parliamentary correspondent ITAR-TASS Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep—Two out of seven legislative acts returned by President Boris Yeltsin to the Supreme Soviet for a second consideration after the sixth session, namely the law "On Banks and Banking Activity" and the law "On the Central Bank of the Russian Federation" will be carefully studied by members of the parliament. Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the parliamentary planning and budget commission, said to the ITAR-TASS correspondent that the commission has been working for the last two weeks on presidential amendments. "This is a difficult and serious question, he said. The president has made some serious amendments, and we agree with most of them, but at the same time we cannot accept some of them."

Apart from that, said the chairman of the parliamentary commission, the president's proposals on these two key legislative acts must be coordinated with the Russian Central Bank and the Association of Russian Banks. Members of the planning and budget commission are spending a lot of energy on this, but Aleksandr Pochinok does not exclude the possibility that the laws on banks and banking activity, returned by the president to the Supreme Soviet, will be studied next Friday [17 September] at a joint sitting of the chambers.

Restrictions on Foreign Banks Opposed

LD0909090993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0605 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Yesterday the commission of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet for planning, the budget, taxes, and prices decided to recommend that parliament should exclude the point restricting the activity of foreign banks in Russia from the decision on putting into effect the law on banks and banking activity. This law, together with the law on the Central Bank, was returned to parliament by the president of the Russian Federation approximately three weeks ago. Previously, the commission's chairman Pochinok spoke out against such a decision.

Pochinok, Finance Ministry Discuss Budget Issues

MK0909082893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 3

[Ivan Rodin report in "NEGA Reports" column under "Russia" rubric]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet is likely to give repeat consideration to this year's budget.

Yesterday Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Planning and Budget Committee, met with Finance Ministry leaders. The reason for the meeting was the Supreme Soviet's scarcity of funds since the Finance Ministry, citing the fact that the 1993 budget has not come into force, is not financing the parliament's expenses. Mr. Pochinok failed to meet the minister himself as he had fallen ill. Boris Fedorov's illness followed his meeting yesterday morning with Viktor Chernomyrdin, apparently to discuss Oleg Lobov's

recent demarches. First Deputy Finance Minister Sergey Dubinin could not discuss questions of financing the Supreme Soviet with Mr. Pochinok as his ill boss had not transferred to him the right to sign the document on his behalf. Mr. Pochinok said that he came away from his meeting with Mr. Dubinin with the belief that the president will once again return the budget to parliament for repeat consideration within the next two weeks. To do this, he will use a formal cause—the 1993 budget law has been given a new name after parliamentary debate.

Voronin Gives 'Expert Opinion' on Budget

PM0909080793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Aug 93 First Edition pp 1, 4

["Expert Opinion" by Yuriy Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet and doctor of economic sciences: "The Truth About the Federal Budget"]

[Text] **At the end of July the Russian Supreme Soviet adopted a budget showing a 22.4 trillion-ruble [R] deficit (50 percent of expenditures). The criticism leveled at the Supreme Soviet for approving a national budget with this kind of deficit, as against the revenue and expenditure proposed by the government, which produces a deficit of R11.9 trillion (30.2 percent of expenditures), is well known. But it does not give the full picture, the whole truth, which must be made known to Russia's citizens.**

The actual truth is as follows. The extent to which the IMF-scenario economic reform has failed has reached a point where immediate measures to protect Russia's population from destitution and extinction are being demanded of the government.

In 1992 prices rose 30-fold. In 1993, according to preliminary assessments by experts, they will rise another 10-20-fold. This means that prices will have risen 300-360-fold against the 1991 level. Meanwhile the population's money incomes will have increased less than 100-fold, according to Economy Ministry calculations. Given this kind of correlation between prices and incomes the bulk of the population are doomed to destitution. Nor is the situation any better in other fields—defense, particularly the solution of servicemen's social problems, science, higher education, investment policy, and others.

In preparing for the all-Russia referendum and the Constitutional Conference, the president and the country's government adopted a whole package of edicts and decrees aimed at providing state support for a broad strata of the country's population.

Expert assessments show that to implement them during this year alone the government will have to spend additional budget funds in excess of R7 trillion.

In particular, the implementation of the Russian presidential edicts of 27 March 1993 "On Urgent Measures To Stabilize the Russian Population's Living Standards in 1993" and of 20 April 1993 "On the Size of Social Benefits and Compensation Payments to Families With Children and Other Categories of Citizens" will require over R8 billion.

The cost of the urgent measures stipulated by the 28 March 1993 Russian presidential edict on urgent measures to compensate less affluent categories of the population for losses from the reduction in value of their bank deposits is around R400 billion.

Over R900 billion will be needed to implement the 27 March 1993 presidential directive "On the Creation of the Russian Federation National Fund for Assistance to Invalids."

More than R1.4 trillion is needed to finance the measures adopted in the 19 April 1993 government decree "On the Monetary Remuneration of Servicemen and Also of Internal Affairs Organs' Rank-and-File and Command Personnel."

Admittedly this expenditure is necessary. But even this does not exhaust all the state's commitments to maintaining citizens' rights and guarantees proclaimed by the Russian Constitution.

But the truth is that neither the president nor the government **had the funds** to finance the promises they made in the course of their propaganda campaign.

The Supreme Soviet's attitude in this matter has been and remains principle-minded. The state does not have the right to make the country's population pay for economic and political mistakes. The state budget must ensure for citizens the funding of all essential payments.

The government's course of pursuing a tough financial policy has eventually come into conflict with its commitments in terms of fulfilling presidential edicts and its own decrees.

This is precisely why the Supreme Soviet, when adopting the budget law in May, was compelled to take additionally into account the promises made to the people by the president and the government and to increase expenditure—over and above the government's proposals—by R0.5 trillion in the social sphere, by R2.6 trillion to fund state programs and investments (including for Chernobyl), and by R1.7 trillion to provide social protection for servicemen, plus other expenditure.

But it is not only the level of spending that determines the state budget deficit. The other side of the coin is revenue and the government's ability to create in the country the kind of economic conditions that will boost entrepreneurial activity and increase the budget's revenue base as a result.

The crux of the question of correctly predicting budget revenue lies in the fact that understating revenue at the stage of the examination and adoption of the country's budget law can have disastrous consequences in the social sphere, the economy, and politics.

Unfortunately, the process of concealing expenditure has become endemic recently and has got beyond crisis point.

Let us recall the examination of the 1992 budget. The Supreme Soviet Audit and Budget Committee worked out and demonstrated to the Gaydar government that the revenue part of the budget for 1992 had been understated by R3 trillion. The Supreme Soviet was accused of every mortal sin at the time. Deputies did not insist on an increase in revenue and agreed to the proposed revenue figure of R1.3 trillion. There was an enormous furor, nevertheless. But as a result the implemented 1992 budget showed a revenue overshoot of 50 percent.

Understating the revenue level so it does not take account of the actual state of production and price dynamics leads to a subsequent overshoot on budget revenue at a cost of an injection of inflated money, which again fuels a rise in prices and the impoverishment of people.

The situation is being repeated this year. In January the government presented its calculations for the budget, whose revenue was predicated on a decline—albeit a now insubstantial decline—in industrial production: by 7 percent compared with last year. Given this deceleration in the decline in production, prices should increase no more than threefold compared to last year, as a result of which it was proposed that total budget expenditure be limited to R14.2 trillion with revenue at R9.8 trillion. The budget deficit was to total R4.4 trillion, or 30.9 percent.

Were these predictions justified? Judging by reported data, they are a long way away from the reality.

Miscalculations in determining the rate of decline in production lead to the composite wholesale price index being understated and actual inflation rates being underestimated. As a result prices growth accounts for most of the budget revenue. Unaccounted revenue ends up outside the sphere of the budget and state control of its utilization.

Like last year, the correctness of the Supreme Soviet's attitude and calculations has been confirmed. In January-June 1993 the volume of industrial output declined 18 percent instead of the 7 percent predicted for the year, and the price rise index totaled 725 percent over the same period last year instead of 204 percent.

On 14 May 1993 the Supreme Soviet adopted the law on the republic budget for 1993, under which it obliged the government to present appropriate proposals to adjust revenue and expenditure with a view to taking account of the rate of inflation and the need to increase funding for protected items of expenditure.

The government presented its corresponding adjustments only at the end of July 1993. But even then the Supreme Soviet had to reject a number of Council Ministers proposals which essentially meant making the population pay for the holes in the budget and to restore expenditure linked with decisions previously adopted by the government.

Thus, the Supreme Soviet rejected a Finance Ministry proposal for the introduction of additional levies and taxes that would infringe taxpayers' interests and ultimately discourage entrepreneurial activity and the growth of social production efficiency. One example of what we are talking about is the seven-percent payments into a fund to support coal miners and agriculture. An attempt was made to implement a not bad idea by simply increasing the value-added tax. Although quite recently the Supreme Soviet had reduced it by virtually the same amount—from 28 to 20 percent—at the insistent request of entrepreneurs.

A government proposal of artificially cutting the budget deficit by using foreign credits to a sum proposed by the government was not accepted either. In practice this would have meant revenue generated by debt.

It was difficult to agree with the government's intention to save on expenditure by freezing indexation of the minimum wage.

Here the Supreme Soviet increased subsidies as against the Finance Ministry's proposals by R133 billion for the agroindustrial complex, R500 billion for social and cultural measures, R433 billion for science, R2.5 trillion for state programs and investments, and R1.6 trillion for defense spending.

These were the factors that resulted in the budget deficit totaling R22.3 trillion rather than the R11.9 trillion submitted by the government. But for the first time since the beginning the year the adopted budget figures reflect the **real** picture of the failure of the economic reform and the state's mounting financial commitments to society.

The Finance Ministry's role now boils down to distributing the smaller revenue (compared with 1992) which it has determined for itself. But nobody is talking about ways to increase budget revenue. And it can only be increased by increasing production efficiency. There is no other way.

The finance minister has had an extremely unseemly role in this entire matter. You get the impression that he has decided to turn himself into a fighter for some kind of special path of development for Russia based on punctilious fulfillment of the IMF's recommendations. If Fedorov had a viewpoint of his own and attempted to back it up with proof, that would be normal. But unfortunately his preference has been to block state decisions, including decisions by parliament. And this constitutes a violation of the law with all its ensuing consequences.

Voronin Meets Trade Union Leaders

PM0709135593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Parliamentary press service report: "Miners Put Grievances to Government"]

[Text] The sociopolitical and economic situation in the country was discussed 3 September at a meeting between Yu.M. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and leaders of sectoral trade unions.

In the opinion of I.Ye. Klochkov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, some of the mass media are giving distorted information aimed at discrediting the organized trade union movement on the eve of the collective action by miners' trade unions scheduled for the start of next week. Yuriy Voronin was invited to meet with the trade union leaders in order to hear objective information at first hand.

The government currently owes agricultural workers 600 billion rubles for grain sold to the state, money has by no means been transferred in full for the state orders carried out by defense industry sectors, virtually 90 percent of industrial enterprises are bankrupt, and so forth. If this government policy persists, then, as those present put it, it will inevitably lead to a major social explosion in the country.

Commission Chair Discusses Media Law

LD0909182593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Tomorrow in the government, the draft law on television broadcasting and amendments to the law on the media. Aleksey Samokhvalov invited Vladimir Lisin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet media commission, to a roundtable meeting with journalists. The main theme was the Federal Supervision Councils in television and radio companies. The Supervision Council is to supervise precisely on which programs budgetary funds are spent, and all political views will be put forward, Lisin explained. He also admitted that the Council has the power to change the leadership of television and radio companies, adopt new charters for companies, and decide who should set up companies.

It was a one-sided roundtable. The journalists asked no questions and paid attention to the chairman's explanations of new amendments to legislation on the media and television and radio broadcasting. Overall, a conversation of this kind was indubitably needed. There are plenty of legal questions, both in the press and on television. But it is very noticeable that the speaker and the auditorium each had very much their own ideas of freedom of speech.

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportedly Parades SS-20 Missile Launcher

LD0909200993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The POSTFACTUM agency asserts that, according to the Chechen presidential press service, a SS-20 missile launcher appeared in a parade that was organized in honor of the second anniversary of Chechnya's independence. True, there was just one. I would remind you that the SS-20 missile has a range of 2,000km. According to the agency, the president's press service could not explain where the Chechen armed forces obtained this missile.

Karelian Supreme Soviet Rejects Federation Council Plan

PM0909115593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 1

[Report by correspondent Anatoliy Minayev: "Karelian Coup"]

[Text] Petrozavodsk—I remember how the Russian Federation president's aircraft had barely had time to melt into the sky as it flew out of Petozavodsk before V. Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet, gave an interview to journalists about the recent conference of heads of republics, krays, and oblasts on the creation of the Federation Council. Viktor Nikolayevich, the host for this meeting, was at the time, as they say, "very, very satisfied."

He was sincerely convinced that a consultative and advisory organ was being created capable of elaborating proposals that could later be adopted by parliament and the government and at presidential level.

And now less than a month has elasped. Recently Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian Federation president's administration, who was announcing daily on all television channels that everyone could sign the Federation Treaty right now—since, he said, it had been honed and agreed—sent the final text of the agreement on the formation of the Federation Council to Petrozavodsk. And what happened was in my view unexpected to say the least. The Republic of Karelia Supreme Soviet Presidium disagreed in principle with the document that had been submitted, backing up its decision with a special decree: "Consider possible the creation of the Federation Council after its legislative drawing-up in accordance with article 109 point 9 of the Russian Federation constitution. Here we should proceed from the fact that the Federation Council can be joined by only two representatives from each component—the

head of representative power and the head of executive power (the president of the republic or the chairman of the council of ministers).

"The leadership of the Federation Council is implemented by two permanent cochairmen—the president of the Russian Federation and the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet—and two cochairmen elected by the Federation Council from the ranks of the components of the Federation for a specific term."

Why did this decree see the light of day? Because the document sent to Karelia after completion by the "palace retinue" does not contain a single point that fails to mention special powers for the president. I note that the decree was adopted by the Republic of Karelia Supreme Soviet Presidium in the absence of V. Stepanov.

Shakhray To Discuss Federation Council in Novosibirsk

LD0909205093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1456 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Yemelyanov]

[Text] Novosibirsk, 9 Sep—First Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray will begin his working day tomorrow with a visit to international export-import exhibition "Sib-93". Shakhray arrived in Novosibirsk tonight to discuss with the oblast's leadership the question of signing the agreement on the Federation Council as well as problems of the region's social and economic development.

The deputy prime minister's agenda includes his visit to the "Kometa" industrial association in order to familiarize himself with the progress of converting this military industrial enterprise, and a trip to the "Borovskoye" agricultural enterprise, where he will discuss the difficult problems of the harvesting campaign. In the afternoon, Sergey Shakhray will meet with heads of rayon and town administrations, people's deputies, and chiefs of oblast enterprises.

Bashkortostan's Economic Ties Bypass Center

LD0909115393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2337 GMT 8 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Ali Shakirov]

[Text] Ufa, 9 Sep—Bashkortostan is starting to make direct arrangements, bypassing the center, with various Russian regions and former Soviet republics for economic ties in 1994. Tajikistan is the first on this list.

Despite the difficult economic and political situation that has developed in Tajikistan, it is here that that the first governmental delegation from Bashkortostan has come. An agreement on economic relations for 1994 between the two republics was signed in Dushanbe. Under the agreement, Tajikistan will supply Bashkortostan with a variety of goods, including at least 2,300 tonnes of cotton, vegetables, citrus and other kinds of fruit, fabric, clothing, equipment for the textile and food processing industries, and other materials. In return, Tajikistan will receive fuel and lubricants, metal ware, resins, soda, rubber, glass and medicaments.

Bashkortostan expects to conclude about 40 intergovernmental economic agreements with all the CIS countries and also with various republics and oblasts within Russia.

Omsk City, Oblast at Odds Over Payment to Budget

PM1009083593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Sergey Suslikov report: "Omsk Opposes Oblast in Budget War With Moscow"]

[Text] The Omsk Oblast Inner Soviet has decided to suspend the remission of profits tax and VAT to the federal budget. The decision was adopted unanimously with three abstentions.

This decision was dictated by the fact that the federal authorities are allegedly failing to fulfill their reciprocal transaction obligations—of the 86 billion rubles [R] due to the oblast the Russian Federation Finance Ministry has allocated just R15 billion. This has left agriculture in a very serious position, no credit has been provided for conversion programs, and the city is not prepared for the winter.

The Inner Soviet session was addressed by Mayor Yuriy Shoykhet of Omsk, who warned the members that the decision would lead to the collapse of Russia and that therefore Omsk, which pays the lion's share of the oblast deductions to the federal budget, would not be implementing the decision.

"I will not permit Russia to be torn asunder before the population's very eyes in the space of two or three months," he said sharply. "The oblast administration leaders have been unable to stop the economic reforms by political means, so they have decided to resort to an economic blockade of the government. If Omsk Oblast and the others which have declared their political and economic 'sovereignty' manage to extract from the government money which, naturally, will not have any real value, the country will be swamped by worthless paper... Hyperinflation, mass unrest, and an explosion will follow. If it fails to get the money, then we stop paying our taxes and paralyze federal programs, resulting once again in discontent in those areas which need subsidies and are in an even direr position than us—again there would be an explosion. Russia is on the edge of the abyss, and instead of backing away, we are headed straight for it."

Yu. Shoykhet is taking vigorous action to neutralize the oblast authorities' decisions. A submission has been made to the Prosecutor's Office, which will clearly deem the Inner Soviet's action illegal. On the basis of a protest from the prosecutor the mayor will issue a decree stating that the oblast Inner Soviet decision does not apply on city territory. The city's tax services will be instructed to follow the Russian law on budget rights.

Gaydar Discusses Economy, Elections in Omsk

LD0909163293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Yegor Gaydar, the former head of the Russian Government and now the director of the Institute for the Transitional Period Problems, is in Omsk. The purpose of his visit to Siberia is to set up a regional branch of the preelection bloc of the democratic forces Vybor Rossii [Russia's Choice]. Our correspondent Mikhail Shakhnovich reports:

[Begin recording] [Shakhnovich] The ex-prime minister's program is rather full, and it includes both consultations with representatives of parties and movements supporting the reforms and Omsk entrepreneurs, and the assessment of the present situation—and mainly the economic one—in the country. It is especially important for Siberian residents, because literally on the eve of Gaydar's visit to Omsk, our oblast took a decision to temporarily suspend deductions of taxes into the federal budget. Omsk residents' attitude to it differ, but, nevertheless, it exists and quite naturally has an effect on meetings with the presidential adviser for economic issues.

The opinion of Gaydar himself is simple:

[Gaydar] This is, I think, what the present majority in the Supreme Soviet is trying to achieve, by rather skillfully manipulating the budget policy and driving the president and the government into a situation where they cannot fulfill—simply in an objective way cannot fulfill—all the irresponsible decisions adopted by the Supreme Soviet, and incidentally are forced to bear the responsibility for the nonfulfillment. Work is being carried in parallel for the regions to suspend deductions into the federal budget and, thus, damage the capability of the Russian bodies of power in general. I would like to remind you that today those people, who are grieving over the disintegration of the Union and shedding crocodile tears, were the first to support the decision on changing over to a single channel system of taxation, with the introduction of which there cannot, of course, be a single state. That is why, while understanding all the existing difficulties and problems of the oblast, the common problems of the budget system that exist, and that the Supreme Soviet is creating deliberately, I believe that we should think first of all about the fate of Russia and its unity.

[Shakhnovich] Several hours ago a news conference on the results of meetings and consultations was held by Yegor Gaydar in Omsk. Speaking to journalists, he expressed his satisfaction with the willingness of Omsk residents to support the program of the preelection bloc Russia's Choice. [end recording]

Moscow Government Opposes Freedom of Movement Law

LD0909143693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Report by correspondent T. Orlova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The government of Moscow today held a news conference. There it was stated that the law on the right of the citizens of the Russian Federation to freedom of movement, choice of place of abode, and residence within Russia, adopted by the Russian Supreme Soviet on 25 June and abolishing the procedure of registration, replacing it with a simplified procedure for citizens to register themselves where they live is untimely, dangerous, and works against the capital and those who live in it.

Apart from this, the Law was completely unexpected by the authorities of the capital. This is because it was adopted without consultation with the constituent parts of the Federation and was not discussed with the public. This is the view of the government of Moscow. If nothing else, it represents a scornful attitude on the part of parliament toward the views of fellow citizens.

In addition, the adoption of this law threatens the Russian capital with an annual influx of 2 million new residents. This will lead to all the city's vital systems being overstretched and to indigenous Muscovites on the housing waiting lists being denied housing.

The government of Moscow appeals to the president and the Supreme Soviet to suspend the law until a chapter on Moscow's special status has been incorporated with rules governing the registration and permanent residence for those who arrive in the capital.

Until this amendment has been adopted, the Moscow authorities do not deem it possible to fulfil this law on the territory of Moscow and call on all Muscovites to lend their support to this decision.

Vorkuta Miners Continue Strike Action

LD0909165793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0855 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep—Vadim Taskayev, head of the Public Relations Office at the state company "Rosugol", has said to the ITAR-TASS correspondent that the strike on the Vorkuta mine "Zapolyarnaya" was in its third day. Today, workers from the rail transport sector and some support sectors of the mine did not come to work yet again. Electric locomotive drivers are demanding

that their wages must be increased to the level of 70 percent of the working face miners and drift miners.

The strike began when the mines of the Pechora coal basin renewed work after a 24-hour warning strike by miners on 6 September. Despite the fact that the strikers' demands were considered unacceptable at a meeting of the council of "Zapolyarnaya" mine, they continue to press for their implementation. Talks with the strikers are continuing.

Soskovets Visits Far East, Discusses Economic Issues

PM1009122793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 2

[Igor Petrov report under the rubric "In the Government": "Why Ministers Travel Around the Country"]

[Text] The discussion of the results of the tour of the Far East by a substantial government delegation headed by O. Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, surprised me by its peaceful and considered nature. It struck a very discordant note with what I had only just personally observed and heard as I accompanied the ministerial officials around Khabarovsk Kray and Maritime Kray.

To be honest, after visiting those endless unfinished construction projects, half-collapsing workshops, and idle plants, having heard plenty of sorrowful stories about the disastrous state of affairs in industry, particularly the defense industry, transportation, and agriculture, and about the state of unpreparedness for the winter and disruptions in energy supplies, I unwittingly recalled the olden days, when important guests from Moscow only arrived to reprimand someone or, conversely, to present them with an order or a banner. But they were taken by different routes and shown completely different plants.

Yes, this did happen. And for too long. For so long that society, constantly dazed by reports of victories and achievements, almost forgot how to look at its own life and the results of its own labor critically. And when we declared that we want to develop according to universal laws, the laws recognized by the whole of the rest of the civilized world, it quickly turned out that for decades we had created fruitless myths for ourselves, and 50 percent of the economic victories and achievements were no more than a pretense. And now, finally, the time for sobering up has come, and with it serious retribution for our previous complacency and the pulling of wool over our own eyes.

The most depressing thing is that it is not everywhere that people have fully realized that the times have really changed and the new economic relations—like, incidentally, the division of functions and roles within the state itself—have become qualitatively different. That the implementation of market reforms is not the passing fancy or fleeting whim of the Moscow leadership, but the only possible way out of the deadlock in which society finds itself.

The following picture has stuck in my mind. The distant settlement of Vanino, somewhere on the edge of the Tatarskiy Strait. No doubt the only profitable enterprises there are the seaport and the local restaurant. A card hanging on the wall in the administration building depicts a man in a mournful pose, wearing the uniform of a railroad worker, announcing: 39 trainloads of metal and timber have accumulated on the sidings at the port, and 1,080 railcars are standing unloaded, blocking everything. The metal is rusting, and the timber—the round kind—which is not favored on the domestic market anyway, has turned into dust over the many months of processing by the elements. What are the local leader's suggestions? "We have a program. It's no big deal. Give us 3 billion rubles [R], at 1991 prices, though, and we will come out on top." But where can the money be obtained from? Maybe it should be earned? "An interesting idea, but somehow we were not thinking of that." That is roughly how the dialogue went.

How many dialogues were conducted during those long six days. The defense industry is asking for money, the power industry is asking for money, the construction and transportation workers are asking for money. From all sides and from all rostrums you can hear the same thing: Give! But who will give us anything if we do not earn it ourselves? Maybe the G-7? Hardly. Then the Central Bank, which creates money out of thin air. That, of course, is always possible, but is there any point?

But I would not like to present everything exclusively in a gloomy light. After all, life is not generally that monotonous. People work, they think of something, they seek ways out of situations, and in the end they adapt. There are also some successes that people have a right to be proud of. Take, for example, the construction of an international terminal at Khabarovsk airport. The local squadron, with the kray administration's blessing and support, of course, has formed a joint enterprise with the Japanese, invested its own billion rubles, and attracted investments worth 1.7 billion yen. As a result, a magnificent terminal fitted out with the most up-to-date equipment and designs, came into being. Was there anybody who did not profit from this? According to Igor Svishchenko, commander of Khabarovsk squadron, having provided 9 percent of the resources, they will now receive 40 percent of the profit from the joint enterprise's work, and intend to build an international class hotel and a lot of other things as well. In a word, things are moving.

M. Robkanov, president of the "Vladivostok Trade Sea Port" Joint-Stock Company, is also "on the move." Not reducing, but on the contrary, increasing the volume of the Russian exporters' processed cargo, carrying out the reconstruction of port facilities, and expanding the technical potential of the moorings. Of course, he also needs money but, having become a joint-stock enterprise, the

port of Vladivostok is actively looking for sponsors by itself or, more specifically, enterprises which are vitally interested in the efficient, uninterrupted work of this transshipment base. And finds them without pinning too many hopes on the republic coffers.

It would generally be useful to focus attention on one pertinent rule: For some reason there are far fewer moans and groans about life from privatized and joint-stock enterprises. There is no point denying it—it is not easy for them either. They have the same non-payments, huge bank interest rates on credits, taxes, and inflation, but the enterprises survive. They are getting used to not using the words "give us," "allocate," and "help us," they are getting used to actually selling their output rather than supplying it. So they are learning to manufacture precisely what is needed by specific buyers, and not because of the notorious gross output or to fulfil the orders of some abstract consumer.

Despite all this, scarcely anyone is seriously saying that there is no need for central power or talking of the possibility of their region existing outside the framework of Russia. The idea of the sovereignization of Maritime Kray, which is being intensely promoted by certain irresponsible figures, has met with practically no response among the people. I found confirmation of this on the banners of a small group of pickets outside the kray administration building in Vladivostok. All their demands essentially amounted to one thing: Let us work. Apparently people have long since gotten fed up with the lobby games of politicians of all hues, and their only expectations of the government are order in the state and the possibility to work normally.

On our way back to Moscow, I nevertheless could not contain myself and asked the first vice premier whether his visit had been in vain, had it been necessary for him to fly out to the other end of the earth to see all the things that are being shown on television anyway.

"I have grown used to looking at things without rose-colored spectacles," Oleg Soskovets told me. "I know the situation fairly well, particularly in the sphere of the defense industry, and in this regard I did not discover anything new. But at the same time I believe that trips around the country like this are very important and useful. You have to know the real potential of the cadres that are carrying out your decisions in the localities today. And indeed the specialists in central departments who accompanied me on this trip gained something from becoming acquainted with their colleagues at regional level. As far as impressions are concerned, then I was persuaded once again that idle talk to the effect that Russian industry is not in a position to pull the country's economy out of the crisis is completely unjustified. Directors of enterprises are in favor of the market and the continuation of reforms, and for me this is the main thing. Of course, amendments are needed, some kind of specific government decisions are needed, as well as aid to the local organs of power. But working out a national policy without seeking advice from the regions, and all the more so conducting it, is, in the present conditions, a futile exercise. That is another incentive for such trips."

What will be the practical results of the government descending on the Far East? Is has become clear from reports by representatives of federal ministries and departments that many questions were answered even during the trip. For example, the ore dressing combine plants in Maritime Kray have obtained the opportunity to supply concentrates abroad and to have a free hand with part of the finished product—tin, zinc, and lead. The dispatch of coal and petroleum products to the Far East has been speeded up.

In the general opinion of the participants in the conference, it is scarcely expedient to issue individual decrees on every oblast—there have already been a lot of them. The most important thing is to sort out a stance on the main issues of reform: How to conduct privatization, implement conversion, set up the work of the banking system. If you do not settle general strategic problems, there can be no question of settling particulars. That is obvious to everyone.

Nevertheless it was decided to put the operational questions which have accumulated in the notebooks of members of the delegation into a special chapter of the report to the government on the trip. These will probably include giving federal status to the construction of a railroad crossing over the Amur River near Khabarovsk, the problems converting the defense plants in Komsomolsk, the financing of an aviation association in Ulan-Ude, the adjustment of the status of the "Nakhodka" free economic zone, and a great many other things. After all, that was the purpose of the trip.

Maritime Kray Nuclear Submarine Plant Attempts Conversion

OW0909144093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian at 0415 GMT on 8 September carries its regular "Dalniy Vostok" program. The segment is comprised of a video report by Nina Kuznetsova of Maritime Kray television entitled "Conversion" [konversiya] and dedicated to the situation of the Zvezda plant for the repair of nuclear submarines located near the town of Bolshoy Kamen.

The report begins with shots of workers dismantling rusty nuclear submarines at a pier, various ships being repaired, workers cutting steel with blowtorches, and welding under way in a plant shop. Nina Kuznetsova notes that it has never been made clear whether Russia needs a nuclear-powered fleet, that conversion is notoriously difficult to carry out, and that overnight conversion is impossible.

Next Igor Borisovich Arzamasov, chief of the sixteenth shop of the Zvezda plant, is interviewed. Arzamasov says although the plant director does all he can to supply the plant with work, the personnel are geared towards

working with military ships; they consider repairing civilian vessels below their dignity. The factory has enough state-ordered work and could actually do without civilian vessels. He adds that mastering the repair of civilian ships would require major modifications in equipment, technology, and skills—which all require much money. Video shows activity in the plant shop, components and ship parts on the shops's floor being worked on, and shop equipment.

Video then shows submarine repair shed where, according to Kuznetsova, no cameraman has ever been admitted before. Plant director V.A. Maslakov is interviewed; he outlines the many strategic advantages of a nuclear submarine, comments on the need to have such weapons, and stresses the main value of the plant is its personnel.

Video then shows shots of Bolshoy Kamen, people in its streets, and workers arriving at the plant. Kuznetsova says many workers have left the plant for places offering higher pay. Conversion is impossible without financial backing from the state, and in spite of difficulties the plant has introduced material incentives which allow people to earn in accordance with their performance. Civilian repair works were undertaken, foreign orders accepted, and new anti- pollution facilities installed in an effort to adapt to the new conditions.

Video then shows an interview with T.S. Belomestnykh, director of the Shipbuilding Technical Institute, who says the plant has always supported the institute and there is no shortage of new students.

Kuznetsova comments on the repairs performed on the large rescue ice breaker Spravedlivyy; video shows shots of the repaired ship in dry dock while an engineer and worker tell of replacing the entire bottom part of the ship.

Video then cuts to show plant's dining hall, medical center, and sanatorium. It also shows an interview with L.G. Volkova, chief doctor of the Zvezda plant, who comments on radioactive safety at the plant. She states: "I think we have enough information in newspapers and the bulletins we print at the plant. Thus, the population and workers of the Zvezda plant are informed about radioactive safety. In any case, our service continues to monitor the plant's activities." She further says there are no cases of anyone suffering from radioactive contamination or being referred to another medical facility for that reason. Maslakov returns to the screen and comments on problems of the radioactivity in the Maritime Kray due to the work of the Zvezda plant. He says: "The transportation reactors the Zvezda plant deals with are well known; work discipline and technological discipline is high, and we have had no serious incidents at our plant up till now, and I do not think we will have such incidents in the future."

Video shows submarines and other vessels docked at a pier, shots of the bay, a worker at work on ships, then cuts to show more of the interview with Maslakov. In discussing his recent trip to Moscow, Maslakov states: "A conference was held at Roskommorprom [Russian Committee for Maritime Industry]; it was the first time I participated in such a meeting. A global, strategic goal was discussed, and not only as regards the nuclear fleet. The goal was catching up with the abilities we have lost with the departure of several independent states. It is no secret that with the pullout of the large Ukrainian shipbuilding plants, Russian has lost its ability to build ships with a displacement greater than 80,000 tonnes. But a program has been put together, and I think this program will be implemented." Maslakov goes on to say that Moscow planners see the role of the Zvezda plant as carrying out repairs of both submarines and surface ships, and also of building new ships with a displacement of up to 25,000 tonnes in the future. He adds: "During the conference I felt for the first time that the period of wandering and bewilderment in Moscow was over, and purposeful work aimed at future prospects had began."

Video concludes with shots of the Zvezda plant leadership relaxing in a dacha garden around a bottle of Soviet champaign while commenting on this year's happy moments.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Urges Flexibility on Black Sea Fleet, Crimea

LD1009083893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0754 GMT 10 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Kiev September 10 TASS—"An unflexible stand on the Black Sea Navy problem and on the Crimea may result in Ukraine losing them both," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told journalists of the Ukrainian news service here on Thursday. The interview was shown on Ukrainian televisions late in the evening of September 10 [date as received].

Kravchuk warned against further confrontation with Russia, saying that he had already asked the Ukrainian defence minister what could be done if the Black Sea Navy hoisted Russian flags, and the Crimea and Sevastopol supported the navy, etc. Again, as during last Monday's press conference in Kiev, the Ukrainian president reiterated that the Ukrainian part of the navy was not sold to anybody yet. He said that the Russian proposal was being studied. "If the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, after examining the Russian offer, chose to blackball the Crimean version, Ukraine will be able to find other sources to repay its debt to Russia. We only have to tap these sources," Kravchuk noted.

The president believes that Ukraine could be pulled out of the current criticial situation, which is most difficult, through the concerted efforts of the three branches of government. He expressed his negative attitude to the possibilisty of presidential rule in the country and to emergency measures, saying that he favoured new elections, including presidential. However, Kravchuk is not sure that genuinely democratic forces would come to power as a result of the elections.

Morozov in Sevastopol, Comments on Fleet Sale

PM0909152793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Semena report: "Ukrainian Defense Minister: There Was No Understanding About Sale of Black Sea Fleet"]

[Text] Simferopol—Colonel General K. Morozov, Ukrainian defense minister, has visited Sevastopol. The trip was prompted by Ukrainian seamen's concern over the contradictory reports about the results of the meeting of the Russian and Ukrainian presidents in the Crimea and about their understandings on the Black Sea Fleet.

The minister went straight from Belbek airfield to the Ukrainian Naval Forces patrol combatant Hetman Sagaydachnyy, where he familiarized himself with the ship and its crew and tested the sailors' skill in handling complex weapons.

The Ukrainian Naval Forces Press Center reported that, during a meeting with Ukrainian Naval Forces Staff officers, Morozov stated: "There was no understanding on questions of selling the Black Sea Fleet to the Russian Federation or on questions of utilizing the infrastructure in Sevastopol. The Ukrainian seamen must know that nothing has changed regarding the organization of the Ukrainian Naval Forces. We had and still have a policy to build our own fleet, whatever difficulties we have to overcome along the way. Ukraine is a sea power and it will, without any doubt, have its own naval forces."

Parliamentary Body Voices Reservations on Crimean Pact

LD0909134593 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0718 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, 8 Sep—A meeting of the Supreme Council's standing commission on legislation and legality discussed the issue of the economic union and decisions adopted at the negotiations in the Crimea between the Ukrainian and Russian presidents. As Anatoliy Tkachuk, deputy head of the commission, told an UNIAR correspondent, the commission adopted a statement concerning the decision to sell to Russia part of the Black Sea Fleet. It said:

1. In accordance with Clause 14 of Article 97 of Ukraine's Constitution the resolution of the question of using Ukraine's territory and natural resources is exclusively within the competence of Ukraine's Supreme Council.

2. The Supreme Council of Ukraine did not discuss the question of transferring part of Ukraine's territory for the use by any foreign state and did not consent to the Ukrainian president signing the named protocol.

3. The agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation on urgent measures to form a Ukrainian Navy and a Russian Navy based on the Black Sea Fleet was not ratified by Ukraine and cannot be a basis for adopting a decision on the transfer of the fleet and its infrastructure to the Russian Federation.

4. The transfer of the entire fleet and the entire infrastructure in the Crimea to the Russian Federation will lead unavoidably to a sharpening of the political situation in the Crimea and even to Crimea's secession from the composition of Ukraine.

Lvov Assembly Denounces Results of Talks

LD0909174293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Condemnation of the actions of the president and the Supreme Council of Ukraine over the whole period of their authority, and especially the results of the Crimean talks, were the main subject of an assembly of deputies of all levels, and also representatives of the leading political parties of the region. The assembly took place in the session hall of Lvov City Council.

The issue of the self-dissolution of the Supreme Council, which according to the speakers, has become the most corrupt body and is not capable of, and sometimes does not even wish to stand up for the interests of the people, and the [the issue of] resignation of the president, dominated all of the speeches.

At the same time, attempts were also made to analyze the reasons for the economic and political crisis in the state, and to make constructive proposals regarding how to overcome it. In particular, the need to establish strict control within the boundaries of the city and the oblast over using up energy-carriers on transport and in industry, and to immediately conserve energy at each work space, was pointed out. It was also proposed to set up militarized detachments at enterprises to prevent any attempts to pilfer state property.

The culmination was the proposal on voluntary armed formations, which would come out in defense of national interests, mass picketing of the Supreme Council, and the urgent removal from the president of his authority as commander in chief of Ukraine's Armed Forces.

Kuchma Hopes for Resumption of Oil Deliveries

LD0909123893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1140 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Kiev, 9 Sep—In an interview on Ukrainian television today, the head of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers, Leonid Kuchma, expressed the hope that regular supplies of Russian oil to Ukraine would resume within the next few days. He was talking about the results of his meeting with Viktor Chernomyrdin, the head of the Russian Government, which took place in Moscow on Wednesday.

Leonid Kuchma noted that this visit to Moscow was dictated by the worsening situation over deliveries of oil to Ukraine at a time when Ukraine needed to harvest its sugar beet and sow its winter crops. The Ukrainian prime minister reported that the two heads of government had decided to follow a nontraditional line: Deliveries will be carried out using an international firm as the middleman in accordance with a specially drawn-up contract. In the prime minister's view, a mechanism for paying for regular deliveries and for clearing Ukraine's debt to Russia is built into such a scheme.

Asked whether his visit had been timed to coincide with the signing of the sexpartite agreement on the ruble zone, he replied that this had been "pure coincidence."

Comments on Fuel Supplies

LD0909164693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, 9 Sep—A one-day working visit to Moscow by a Ukrainian Government delegation, led by Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, has ended. There were Ukrainian-Russian negotiations at the level of heads of ministries and departments, as well as experts, and also meetings between Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Chernomyrdin, held behind closed doors. Replying to journalists' questions concerning issues considered at the negotiations with the head of Russia's Government, Leonid Kuchma pointed out that the possibilities of resuming oil supplies to Ukraine had been discussed at the meeting with Russia's prime minister. The meeting was constructive. "We followed an unusual course. An international firm was set up that would conclude a contract for oil supplies to Ukraine. We shall settle accounts with this firm with ready-made products. This is why I hope that in the near future oil will be supplied to Ukraine."

Replying to a question whether a one-time delivery of power sources to Ukraine was discussed, so as to ensure the harvesting campaign, or long-term deliveries were considered as well, Leonid Kuchma replied: "No, we have in mind to work out a scheme of permanent deliveries. Power sources is a problem which is to be tackled permanently and confidently. The task of the government is to determine a stable source of oil supplies. I believe that we have virtually reached this. Today, Russia is interested in this. Today, we owe 300 billion rubles for oil alone (this is 300 million dollars), which we do not have today. Signing such an agreement with Russia, we envisaged not only a mechanism of payments but a mechanism of paying off about 10-15 percent of the debt."

Legislative Committee Drafts Proposals on Tripartite Union

WS0909100993 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Report by Nataliya Bondarchuk]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Supreme Council Legislative Committee spent most of its 8 September meeting discussing the proposed economic union with Russia and Belarus. Opinions were diametrically opposed with regard to the expediency of such a union. Given the importance of the decision to be made by people's deputies in the near future, the Legislative Committee drew its conclusions. Deputy Chairman Anatoliy Tkachuk commented on their discussions.

[Begin recording] For a more detailed and professional discussion of the documents in the Supreme Council, we must take a number of preliminary steps. We must appeal to the Supreme Council Presidium with a request to consider this issue at one of its future sessions and to charge appropriate scientific institutions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Strategic Research, and a group of scientific advisers with drafting their suggestions regarding legal, economic, and demographic aspects of the so-called union. A group of scientific advisers, or the Legislative Department, should then draft a special chart listing all the provisions of the main variants of the old union treaty, of the treaty currently

under discussion, and, if possible, the primary theoretical principles of economic union. We suggest that parliamentary hearings be held before discussion in the Supreme Council. Special attention must be paid to the analysis of agreements signed within the framework of the CIS, their observance over the period of the existence of the CIS, and to an analysis of bilateral Russo-Ukrainian agreements. The Cabinet of Ministers should define its standpoint on the issue at the same hearings, and report on the measures it has taken for making the Ukrainian economy independent. Only after these preparations, and maybe after a new government is formed, we should resume discussions of that issue in the Supreme Council. [end recording]

National Affairs

'Text' of Leonid Kuchma's Resignation Statement

LD0909175693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1650 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Today, at a session of the Ukraine Cabinet of Ministers, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma made a resignation statement. Here is the text of this statement:

To Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. Statement:

The discussion of the program for the work of the Ukrainian Government and the negative vote on the draft resolution of the Supreme Council of Ukraine envisaging the approval in principle the government's program and granting additional plenary powers to the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers with the aim of efficiently solving the issues needed to bring the economy out of the crisis, submitted by the government, force me to make the following appeal to you.

Experience of working in the government in the three months since it was deprived of additional plenary powers in May 1993 has clearly shown that in these conditions the executive power had lost the possibility of organizing any efficient response to changes in the economy. During the discussion of the government program, along with separate valuable proposals, invective and populist accusations against the government were heard at a time when such issues as paying for the supply of fuel to Ukraine and its foreign debt required immediate political solution.

Attempts to draw the government into fruitless attempts to combine contradictory program options and to draw up a government program in conjunction with other programs result directly from an attempt to continue depriving society of clarity in socioeconomic policy.

Therefore, having no legal or effective possibility of stopping the negative phenomena in the economy and in the tense atmosphere of artificial accusations against the government, I consider it impossible for me to continue fulfilling the obligations of the post of prime minister of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma's statement says. I ask you to accept my resignation. It is my belief that Ukraine badly needs substantial political reforms, without which economic reforms are impossible, and without which we risk losing our independence.

That is how Leonid Kuchma ends his statement to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk on the matter of his resignation.

Kharkov Official Possible Successor

LD1009090893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0745 GMT 10 Sep 93

[Text] Kharkov, 9 Sep—As has become known from confidential sources, Oleksandr Maselskyy, the president's representative in Kharkov Oblast, will be one of the most realistic candidates for the post of the premier in the event of Ukrainian Premier Leonid Kuchma's resignation. He has a number of qualities that would be advantageous in the current politico-economic situation.

First, Maselskyy is known as an experienced manager of the administrative-command type. Second, as a representative of one of the eastern regions of Ukraine, he is a certain authority among Kharkov's directors and will meet the interests of the east Ukrainian directorship wholly. Third, he is known to be inclined towards a union with Russia and the encouragement of integrational processes within the framework of the CIS, on the one hand, and is ascribed the image of a nationalist both by Kharkov's national radicals and their opponents from local pro-communist circles, on the other, with the latter set to make President Leonid Kravchuk quite happy.

All of the above advantages plus his personal consent would make Maselskyy one of the most realistic candidates for Kuchma's portfolio. It has become known, however, that so far Maselskyy is not going to change Kharkov for Kiev.

Cabinet of Ministers Holds Session

LD0909195793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Today the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine held a session. It began with a statement by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma about his resignation. Further on, a report by First Deputy Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy on the state of the preparation of the national economy for work in the autumn-winter period of 1993-1994, and also on measures to ensure the work of industries in conditions of power source shortages was heard.

The Cabinet of Ministers approved a draft program of establishing a unified national system of communication and measures to implement it. The document was submitted by Ukrainian Communications Minister Oleh Przhevalskyy. A number of other important issues were also considered at the government session.

Kravchuk Replies to Questions on Economy

LD0909222793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev—On 9 September, Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk met UNIAN journalists. Answering questions concerning measures to be taken in the near future in order to bring the economy out of the crisis, Leonid Kravchuk again emphasized that the current government has plenary powers which the president has never and will never have. For six months not only executive but legislative power, in particular that which relates to the economy, has been concentrated in the Cabinet of Ministers. "I have nothing against transferring such functions to the Government today as well," noted the president. "However, it is necessary that the Supreme Council, the Cabinet of Ministers, and the president work in a joint coordinated regime, refrain from partiality, disagreements, and debates which are of no use, and set about the economy."

On the basis of the new constitution, with a new parliament, new representative bodies at the local level, and executive bodies, all these problems could be solved, the president believes. "However, today, reorienting every branch of authority to new plenary powers will do no good," Leonid Kravchuk believes. Commenting on the situation in Ukraine, and possible actions in connection with another price rise as from 10 September, and also as a sign of protest against the agreements of the presidents of Ukraine and Russia in Massandra, Leonid Kravchuk said that certain steps have been made toward social protection, in particular the minimum wage and pensions have been raised. "But I am convinced that even the best steps will not meet with the peoples' satisfaction if there is a price rise," noted the president. "We had two ways: not to raise prices but subsidize the population regularly, or to raise prices to the level of expenditures. The first way is available to rich states. We are in a critical situation: we cannot give subsidies and cannot ensure normal living standards either."

Answering a question on the expediency of introducing presidential rule in Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk noted that even with new elections to the Supreme Council, a replacement of the government and state leaders, he has no certainty that they will have a common course, a single stand, and that it will be supported by the representative bodies at the local level. "Therefore, the president's rule is possible when there is a common stand, common line, and people's support, and we have as many kinds of support as there are regions," the president indicated. To resort to forced methods of government means to provoke mass protests. Ukraine's way is solely a democratic way. "I believe neither in presidential rule nor in emergency measures."

Answering a question whether the Crimea can be Ukrainian in the presence of the Russian Black Sea Fleet, the president urged one to look at the state of affairs from a realistic point of view: with regard to the sentiments at the fleet and in the Crimea as a whole, confrontational decisions may lead to heavier losses. "There are many countries in the world where fleets of other states are stationed, but they do not become dependent because of this." Leonid Kravchuk again emphasized that nobody is selling the fleet; only an instruction was given to study this issue.

Leonid Kravchuk spoke out against the idea of denouncing the Belovezhskaya agreement. "No matter what the attitudes toward the CIS are, as long as it exists there is a possibility of solving something and to prevent confrontation," said the president.

The president believes the main mistakes in his activities have been absence of persistence in carrying out economic reforms, poor control over the work of all the links of executive power, and also the fact that people with new vision and mentality who need not be controlled have not been found.

Replying to a question whether any change is possible with regard to the president's stand in relation to the state system of Ukraine as a unitarian state, especially taking into account increasing demands by certain regions to the effect that they should be granted more independence, Leonid Kravchuk said that he continues to defend the idea of unitarianism, however, with granting regions vast economic powers. In the opinion of the Ukrainian president, the task of creating something in between a unitarian state and a federation is insurmountable and this, in particular, was one of the serious mistakes made by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Expressing his opinion on whether the introduction of the institution of president's representatives justified itself, Leonid Kravchuk said that the emergence of the presidential structures was an objective necessity because the state has no vertical structures which the executive power could rest upon.

Answering a question whether the president sees a structured political force which he could rely on in his activities, Leonid Kravchuk said that "unfortunately, there is no such single force, and the leaders who could embark on a serious political course are also nonexistent." In the opinion of Leonid Kravchuk, both the "left-wingers" and the "right-wingers" are seeking the president's resignation, just because he is at the center and prevents them from "twitching each other." "They want to take power," stated the president. "I say to them: You are welcome, but only in a civilized manner, through elections. No one is holding on to power."

The president believes that his political rivals have the following scenario regarding further developments: "The president is toppled, the country is headed by the chairman of the Supreme Council, who can be easily removed from power: 220 votes and that's it. Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch, who also takes a centrist stand, is removed, and both the 'left-wingers' and the 'right-wingers' hope that it is their representative who will head the parliament, and that the situation in Ukraine will change, but this is impossible. The situation

in Ukraine and its policy can only change after the re-election of the deputies at all levels: from a village council to the Supreme Council. The chairman of the Supreme Council, the president, and the government today do not have enough influence on the situation since there is no common vision of it."

Temporary Stabilization of Karbovanets Noted

AU0909170193 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 8 Sep 93 p 2

[Statement by the Press Service of the Ukrainian Interbank Currency Exchange; place and date not given: "At the Ukrainian Interbank Currency Exchange"]

[Text] In accordance with the established procedure, every Monday the Ukrainian Interbank Currency Exchange holds auctions involving Belarusian rubles; every Tuesday—German marks [DM], every Wednesday—Russian rubles, and every Thursday—U.S. dollars. Presently, 45 Ukrainian banks that have corresponding licenses from the Ukrainian National Bank participate in auctions involving foreign currency.

On 7 September 1993, a scheduled auction involving German marks took place. Altogether DM751,000 was offered for sale; the demand was for DM1,148,000. A total of DM766,000 was sold at the rate of 10,450 karbovantsi per DM1; this is 0.1 percent higher than the preceding rate. Thus, a temporary stabilization of the Ukrainian karbovanets can be observed at the Ukrainian Interbank Currency Exchange.

In accordance with the decision by the Exchange Committee of 3 September 1993, a constant supervision over the course of auctions on the part of the Exchange Committee was introduced. A schedule of shifts for members of the Exchange Committee was approved. In particular, at the latest action involving the German mark, members of the Exchange Committee seriously analyzed and implemented corresponding measures regarding a contract with one of the most significant purchasers of the currency who could noticeably affect the rate of exchange.

Western Area Strikes Aim To Bring Down Government

LD0909161093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov, 9 Sep—Meetings and one-hour strikes have been held in all the labor collectives in Lvov Oblast today. The participants are demanding the resignation of the president and Government of Ukraine, and of the current membership of the republic's Supreme Soviet. They reject the agreements on the Black Sea Fleet and nuclear weapons, as well as the possibility of Ukraine participating in the CIS Economic Union.

The western region of Ukraine is in uproar. The so-called "Committee for the Defence of the Nation's Honor and Statehood" [Komitet Zashchity Chesti Natsii I Gosudarstva] is working around the clock. Almost all the parties active in Lvov Oblast have delegated members to go to their headquarters. Rukh, the Ukrainian Republican Party, town and oblast authorities, have all published their protests in the local newspapers.

Rear Admiral Boris Kozhin was also present at a meeting of deputies of all levels held in the mayor's office yesterday. He informed those assembled that the Black Sea Fleet has become obsolete, and he called upon them to heed the words of Ukraine's Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov, who believes that the Ukrainian people should collect funds to build a modern fleet. Boris Kozhin is confident that every oblast could finance the construction of one vessel.

However, not everyone is capable of listening to sensible arguments. There was much talk of the president supposedly "parading the poverty" of Ukraine, and "bringing it to its knees." It is repeated over and over again that Ukrainians have their own bill to present to the Russians: a significant proportion of the fuel exported by Russia passes through Lvov and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts, and the western Ukrainian deputies believe that the threat of closing this "Ukrainian shutter" could be used to put pressure on the parliaments of Russia and Ukraine.

Radiation Rumors at Dneprodzerzhinsk Plant Refuted

LD0909160793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By correspondent Gennadiy Klimov from Dneprodzerzhinsk; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Irina Mischina] On 7 September an explosion occurred in blast furnace No. 7 at the metallurgical combine in Dneprodzerzhinsk in Ukraine. Four people died, 24 people are in hospital, of whom 10 are in a very serious condition. The search for another four people is still continuing. Our correspondent reports the details.

[Klimov] At the Dneprovskiy metallurgical combine the work of the government commission is continuing to discover the reasons for the accident in blast furnace No. 7. Today, the mayor of Dneprodzerzhink made an announcement on the town's radio that the rumors about the pollution of the air basin as a result of the explosion and about radioactive fall-out as well, have no grounds.

The town is paying its last respects to the metal workers who perished.

Another three have joined the list of casualties; they died in hospital. At the present time eight people are on the brink of life and death.

The hospital has medicines, plasma, all that is needed in this situation for patients with extensive burns, but the need for blood donors has not decreased. Approximately 500 people have already given blood. Tomorrow will be "Donors' Day" in the town.

Aid is being rendered to the families of those who were casualties in the accident. From 10 September three days of mourning has been announced in Dneprodzerzhinsk. [Video shows the damaged area at the plant and patients in hospital.]

Belarus

Kebich Notes Importance of Russia as Economic Partner

LD0909170593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1402 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Vladimir Glod for TASS]

[Text] Minsk September 9 TASS—Russia has always been "the most important strategic and political partner" of Belarus, said Vyacheslav Kebich, Belarusian prime minister.

Development of close and long-established ties with Russia will enable us to reinforce Belarus' sovereignty, he emphasized in an interview with BELINFORM.

The bilateral Russo-Belarussian agreement signed in Moscow on Wednesday builds on an analogous document signed earlier by Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Tajikistan and Belarus, Kebich stressed.

"In my opinion, we have gone further than the six countries. Firstly, we are making the rouble into a unified currency unit. We are getting rid of correspondence bills—that is, one and the same rouble will be valid both in Russia and in Belarus.

"Secondly, customs space is established within the borders of the countries which signed the agreement. Thirdly, we are doing away with duties, import/export and other surcharges. Finally, we are creating a unified monetary and credit system. We are defining budget deficit, making decisions on emission on the basis of coordinated positions.

"Now that the government has to submit the document to the parliament, certain changes in the legislation may become necessary. As a result industrial enterprises and economic entities will get a new lease on life. They will not have to wait for Russian roubles to settle accounts for their products and buy much needed raw materials.

"This is a market document which gives the reigns to plant managers. Many of them are now apt to cite lack of Russian roubles as an excuse for their own passivity and inertness. The agreements kill this trump card and soon we shall see who of them are fit to work in modern conditions and who are unable to do so.

"The signed agreements aim, in a major way, at preserving Belarus' sovereignty, because a sovereignty which is not backed by a powerful economy exists but on paper.

"We have prepared one more agreement—on an economic union. We may in principle sign it right now. But we are going to bid our time so that to dispel all allegations that Belarus is destroying the Commonwealth of Independent States. The important thing is that at the Moscow summit on September 24 the CIS heads of state will be able to sign an agreement on setting up an economic union within the framework of the Commonwealth," Belarrusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich said.

Koslovskiy on Belarus' Place in Collective Security

LD0909180493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1649 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Leonid Tratsevskiy for TASS]

[Text] Minsk September 9 TASS—Belarusian Defence Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy said on Thursday [9 September] that Belarusian soldiers will not serve in troubled spots and war zones if Belarus joins the Collective Security Treaty.

In an interview with the newspaper VO SLAVU RODINY (FOR THE MOTHERLAND'S GLORY) Kozlovskiy commented on the results of the recent session of the CIS defence ministers which was held in Moscow.

"The session discussed the establishment of coalition forces to protect the Tajik-Afghan border by countries participating in the Collective Security Treaty. That is the countries which border Afghanistan," Kozlovskiy said.

Collective security envisages protecting the Commonwealth's external borders. If there is a threat to Tajikistan's borders, coalition forces will be set up to protect this direction, the minister said. He added that Belarus would provide political assistance and political initiatives.

Good Grain Harvest Despite Economic Difficulties

LD0909191893 Minsk Radio Rantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Now several words on the situation in the agriculture of the republic. The majority of the oblasts of Belarus completed the harvesting and threshing of grain last week. The productivity of crops throughout the republic is over 30 centners per hectare. In Grodno Oblast, the productivity is the highest in Belarus—39 centners per hectare. Minsk Oblast is in second place with 34 centners per hectare. According to agricultural specialists, for such a year as this, the harvest has been good. It is worth mentioning that large state and collective farms have even collected 50-55 centners per hectare. All this, despite the present difficulties—the crisis in the economy, scarcity of energy resources, [word indistinct] of payments, worn out machinery, and lack of spare parts. As for deliveries: 72 percent of grain had been sold to the state by 1 September. It is noteworthy that Mogilev Oblast, which harvests later than southern regions of the republic, has fulfilled its obligation to the state fully.

The situation regarding potatoes in the republic is rather difficult. According to preliminary estimates, the republic has lost one third of the harvest because of the flooding of rivers in Polessye. Affected by the flood were the most potato rich rayons of Gomel and Brest Oblasts. On the whole, rains this summer have done a lot of harm. Potatoes rotted and suffered all over the country. The question arises whether they will be stored. It is not excluded that the Belarusians will have to buy potatoes abroad. At the beginning of September only 60 percent of the planned amount of forage had been prepared, which will lead to a further reduction in the number of livestock. Whether farms want it or not, they will only be able to keep as many animals as they can feed.

Moldova

Snegur Lays Wreaths on National Army Day

AU0909200193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1613 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 8/9/1993—The National Army Day was celebrated on 3 September in Chisinau. President Snegur and representatives of the Ministry of Defence laid wreaths at the monument of Stephen the Great in the centre of Chisinau. Government representatives handed flags to some regiments. President Snegur, supreme commander of the Army, handed a flag to the Ministry of Defence. Snegur had a speech in front of soldiers and guests invited to the ceremony. "There is no country in the world without army and the Moldovan Army is not an abstract element of the state," said the President. In Snegur's opinion, the creation of national armies in young European states fills the created gaps after the Warsaw Pact disintegrated: The newly created states look for cooperation with NATO. Snegur called the National Army a stabilizing element in solving the conflict in Eastern Moldova.

Envoy to Moscow Urges Economic Integration in CIS

LD0909213593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2055 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Chisinau September 10 TASS—Without economic integration of Moldova with the CIS the Moldovan Republic can achieve only declarative independence fraught with serious consequences of economic order, Ambassador of Moldova to Russia Anatol Taran said in an interview with the newspaper "MOLDOVA SUVERANE."

According to the ambassador, radical economic reforms in Moldova are impossible without the final decision of joining some economic bloc. In other way economic crisis in Moldova can deepen. Russia use economic means to put pressure on the republic of the former Soviet Union. [as received]

General Lebed's Decision To Run for Deputy Criticized

AU0909200293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1613 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 8/9/1993—Candidates for deputies in the Dniester Supreme Soviet met with journalists and representatives of political organizations. During the meeting, professor Vasiliy Yakovlev demanded General Lebed to give up running for deputy. In Yakovlev's opinion, if Aleksandr Lebed is elected for deputy, he will be dismissed from Commander of the 14th Army; this will lead to the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Dniester region. Yakovlev said General Lebed's launching in the campaign was staged by certain Russian circles to undermine the unrecognized republic.

Trade Unions Demand Compensation for Price Increases

AU0909175993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1613 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 8/9/1993—According to the decision of government, prices for bread and milk increased since the 1st September. One kg of white bread varies from 95 to 140 rubles and 1 liter of milk is 50 rubles. Serafim Urecheanu, leader of the Moldovan Independent Trade Unions, stated that trade unions have bad looks on this. "During the session of the government we did not agree with the ministers but some of our proposals for welfare benefits were accepted. People will face many difficulties but the Government has no other solution," said Urecheanu. He promised that trade unions will insist on increasing minimum wages and pensions. Recently, trade union leaders promised 50 percent compensation in case of skyrocketing prices. Yesterday evening Dumitru Nidelcu, minister of labour and social protection stated that the planned welfare benefits would not exceed 30 percent. A previous agreement between government and trade unions said that prices will grow only after all the unpaid wages of 4 billion rubles are delivered.

Parliament Lifts Ban on Communist Party

LD0909214793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1505 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 9 September—The Moldovan Parliament Presidium has abolished the ban on Communist Party activity in the republic which was introduced after the August putsch.

The Presidium resolution notes in this regard that the banning of the Communist Party is an infringement of the citizens' constitutional rights. Henceforth, Moldovan citizens have the right to form party organizations in accordance with the law passed in the republic on parties, social, and political movements. The document notes that the procuracy of Moldova has not proven that the Moldovan Communist Party supported the putsch in any organized fashion.

Kazakhstan

Russia's Chernomyrdin Arrives on 4-Day Visit

LD0909200193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1940 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Almaty September 9 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin arrived in the capital of Kazakhstan, Almaty, late on Thursday [9 September] on a working visit.

During the four-day trip, Chernomyrdin will attend the Russian cultural festival in Kazakhstan and then fly to the city of Kokchetav to take part in a meeting of leaders of regions neighbouring Russia to be held on Saturday.

On Sunday, the premier will arrive in the town of Uralsk. On Monday he will visit Samara to meet with heads of defence enterprises to discuss prospects for the development of production of aircraft engines.

Meets With Nazarbayev

LD1009084393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 10 Sep 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian culture days are taking place in Kazakhstan today. Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin took part in the opening of the festival. Before the ceremony this morning, he had a meeting with Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev. At the end of the half-hour conversation, Chernomyrdin told journalists that Russian- Kazakh relations are now a sort of testing ground for the development of deep integration within the CIS framework. He also spoke in favor of removing customs barriers between the two countries.

Chernomyrdin left Almaty by air for Kokchetav, where he will take part in the conference of leaders of contiguous regions of Kazakhstan and Russia tomorrow.

Nazarbayev on State's Loss of Economic Control Levers

PM1009090593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 93 p 2

[Tleuzhan Yesilbayev report under the "Call From the News Bureau" rubric: "Hard Lessons of the Market"]

[Text] Almaty—A conference attended by leaders of Kazakhstan's holding and joint-stock companies was held here. Addressing at it, President Nursultan Nazarbayev noted the extreme importance of ensuring that the transition from the old economic system to the new one—a socialist market economy—is as smooth as possible.

The lessons of the first stage of the transition to the market were analyzed. They mainly boil down to the fact that, under the influence of democratic trends in Kazakhstan, rights of ownership over state property have been given away to enterprises by legislation. As a result, Nazarbayev said, without having created even the foundations for new market levers for controlling the economy, the republic has practically lost the old ones overnight. The main issue—production—was consigned to oblivion for an indefinite period. In the president's opinion, in any country, even a country with a most highly developed market economy, the state controls economic development processes to some degree or other.

Kyrgyzstan

Russian Foreign Minister Arrives on Working Visit

LD0909170893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1628 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Excerpts] Bishkek, 9 Sep—Andrey Kozyrev, the head of Russia's foreign policy department, this evening arrived in the capital of Kyrgyzstan on a working visit. Immediately upon arrival he took part in the solemn opening ceremony of the Slavonic (Kyrgyz- Russian) University in the Kyrgyzstan capital. Then the Russian minister was received by Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev.

The ITAR-TASS special correspondent said that "the situation of the Slav population in Kyrgyzstan was the central theme of the talks." The Slavs in Bishkek amount to approximately 50 percent of the city's total population. On the whole some 800,000 Slavs live in Kyrgyzstan. Russians make up the industrial and scientific "core" of the economy of Kyrgyzstan, and other Central Asian republics. [passage omitted]

The Russian foreign minister will complete his visit in Kyrgyzstan late in the evening and leave for Moscow by air.

Bishkek is the third and last leg of his working visit to the region. Previously he visited Kabul and Dushanbe.

Tajikistan

Kozyrev Urges Tajik Authorities, Opposition To Talk

LD0909115093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1055 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 9 Sep—The Tajik-Afghan border "should become a frontier of friendship;" therefore, the heads of the two neighboring states should exert themselves "to seek political dialogue," Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian Federation minister for foreign affairs believes.

The head of the foreign policy department, who is in Tajikistan, said this to journalists today. The minister emphasized that Russia is ready to assist these efforts as the Tajik-Afghan border is a common border of the CIS, and thus of Russia as well. Therefore, Russia is very interested in the stability and security of its southern frontiers.

It is the question of security in particular, and the adoption of effective measures to halt the armed provocations on all sectors of the Tajik-Afghan frontier which the head of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs described as the purpose behind his visit to Kabul and Dushanbe. On this subject, Andrey Kozyrev gave a positive evaluation of his meetings with the president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, Borhanoddin Rabbani, and Prime Minister Golboddin Hekmatyar. Touching upon ways to stabilize the current sociopolitical situation in Tajikistan, the Russian minister categorically expressed himself in favor of political dialogue between the Tajik leadership and opposition.

At the same time, opinion among the highest echelons of power in Tajikistan itself is far from unanimous. A number of highly placed Tajik leaders have said in recent public statements that the so- called "government in exile" that has been created in Afghanistan is a group of criminals who are committing numerous crimes against the Tajik people, and who are unleashing civil war and are responsible for the deaths of many thousands of their countrymen. These statements have emphasized that "In the civilized world, no one sits down for talks with criminals."

Gives News Conference

LD0909151993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1325 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Dushanbe, 9 Sep—After his visit to the Tajik-Afghan border, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has this afternoon continued his talks with Chairman of the Tajik Parliament Imamali Rakhmonov, Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhonov and Foreign Minister Rashid Alimov.

Speaking to journalists before the talks, Andrey Kozyrev said that he has "very good impressions from his visit to the Tajik- Afghan border." In the minister's opinion, "it is very well protected, and political measures are being taken to normalize the situation on the whole." "We intend to defend the republic and will not allow anyone to harm it," noted Andrey Kozyrev, "but we will do it by political methods which, by the way, will be accompanied by certain military measures. We hope that agreements reached in Kabul and decisions made during our talks with Tajikistan leaders will lead to the further stabilization in this region".

According to Kozyrev, the most important theme of his meeting with the leaders of Tajikistan was "development of a dialogue with the opposition, with that part of it that remains on constructive positions." Questions connected with the forthcoming CIS summit in Moscow scheduled for 24 September will also be examined.

Speaking to journalists, Tajikistan Foreign Minister Rashid Alimov has evaluated the visit of his Russian colleague to Tajikistan. Answering an ITAR-TASS correspondent's question, he said that in his opinion the importance and content of the Tajik- Russian talks lie in the operational exchange of information on the problems of highest importance to the two states. Bilateral relations, he noted, as well as the "Tajik-Afghan knot" and the strengthening of stability in the region are all problems of international importance.

Touching upon the question of accelerating repatriation of the Tajik refugees, Rashid Alimov said: "This is our painful problem and our tragedy." However, he said that authorities are making efforts to speed up repatriation of the refugees to their homeland. The recently created tripartite commission consisting of representatives of Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and the UN High Commission will facilitate the acceleration of this process. The appropriate documents have already been prepared and will be signed shortly. Just a few "technical problems" must be removed to enable it to carry out its work on the full scale, continued the Tajik minister.

Rashid Alimov has expressed a sharply negative attitude toward the so-called "government in exile," which was set up in Afghanistan. In his opinion, "this is nothing but a small group of pretenders that represents only themselves and does not reflect the will of the people of Tajikistan. Needless to say, they have no constructive program whatsoever," the Tajik minister concluded.

Upon completing his visit to Tajikistan tonight, Andrey Kozyrev will go to Bishkek, where he plans to meet Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev. The Russian minister will also take part in the opening ceremony of the Slavonic University in Bishkek.

Russian Border Guards Fired on at Border

LD0909161593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1507 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe September 9 TASS—The situation remains tense on the Tajik-Afghan border. A frontier track of post 12 of the Moscow border guard detachment in Tajikistan attracted jet shells [as received] and other automatic gun fire from the Afghan territory last night.

The Russian border troops returned fire and destroyed the enemy's fire emplacements. No cassualties were reported.

A spokesman for headquarters of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan said this was not the only incident last night. The Pyanj border guard detachment prevented a group of 15 armed persons from crossing the frontier.

Fires, Explosions at Russian Ammunition Dumps

LD1009082493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0732 GMT 10 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep—A fire, accompanied by explosions, broke out at the combined artillery ammunition dumps of the 201st Russian Motorized Rifle Division, 24 km southwest of Dushanbe, following bombardment by fighters on the afternoon of 9 September. Six of the eight warehouses have burned down. There are no casualties.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by Marina Ryklina, head of the press service of the Russian state committee for emergency situations, that at 0600 on the morning of 10 September isolated areas could still be seen burning.

According to the command of the 201st division, the explosions ceased toward the end of 9 September. Work is still in progress on extinguishing the fires.

Russian Border Troops Commander on Situation, Call Up

OW0909112393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Remarks by Major General Anatoliy Chechulin, commander of the Russian Border Troops in Tajikistan; from the "International 'Mir' Television and Radio Company" feature of the "Utro" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Chechulin] The situation on the border recently has been partially stabilized. What has contributed to this? Apparently a great amount of attention paid by official circles and the public—whose hearts, minds, and actions are occupied by the Tajik-Afghan sector—to training and to visits by the heads of state summit itself. We have also noted and continue to note that the official Afghan border structures are also making a positive contribution. There is a resolve to try and reach agreement somehow, to find a common language for the mutual purpose of making the border controllable and the situation manageable.

In this instance I must give you a couple of examples: (Kazik Aber), commander of the 55th Infantry Division, not more than 10 days ago took the initiative—we fully supported this meeting and the initiative—and concluded a statement of intent. He guarantees that within his area of responsibility, there will not be any aggressive acts from the armed opposition deployed there. We have similar agreements with other field commanders, specifically with (Latif). It was only yesterday we held talks with (Nazhmudin), the military leader of Afghanistan's Badakhshan; that is, we must continue to develop concrete issues, and seemingly we are committed to pursuing this course—on the one hand to keep our powder dry and be sufficiently prepared to repulse any form of force from across the border, and on the other to speak more with the language of humanity rather than with weapons.

As far as our own armed potential and self defense is concerned, I want to reassure the people that presently we have sufficient manpower and means so people whom we protect can feel more secure today than yesterday or the day before. Furthermore, we have taken different and not quite traditional ways; well, I will not make a secret of it. Specifically, with the aid of the government we have organized a wide-ranging call up for the Russian Border Troops. More than 4,500 lads from Tajikistan have the opportunity, literally in a month's time, to take their place in defending their own borders under the aegis of the Russian Border Troops—naturally, with all the privileges granted to Russian soldiers. Therefore I expect Tajikistan is not short of epic heroes; so welcome, we are waiting for you.

Rakhmanov Receives Afghan Delegation

LD0909132393 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Text] Tajik Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov received the official delegation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, which has arrived to participate in the activities on the occasion of the second independence day anniversary of the Republic of Tajikistan and the second world congress of the Tajiks.

Rakhmanov extended a cordial welcome to the Afghan guests and wished them a pleasant stay on Tajik soil. Your arrival, the head of state said, will beautify our holiday. You will make real friends in these days. He also spoke about his satisfaction at the results of the negotiations he held with Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani. Relative calm came about on the Tajik-Afghan border after the achieved agreements. Kakhmanov said that preparations are under way in Tajikistan for the visit of the Afghan leaders, for which he has great hopes.

The leader of the delegation said that the results of the negotiations of the Afghan and Tajik leaders have provoked the positive response not only in his country but in the neighboring countries and the entire world. He said that we, as blood relatives, will take part in your celebrations, for the Afghan and the Tajik peoples are tied with centuries-old friendship and mutual understanding. The meeting was held in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

Council of Ministers Chairman Abdullodzhanov and other officials attended the talks.

Rakhmanov Grants Interview on Independence Day

PM0909153593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Sep 93 First Edition p 7

[Unattributed report on interview with Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Tajikistan, by unidentified KHOVAR agency correspondent; place and date not given; carried under the rubric: "In the Hot Spots": "Tajikistan: Irreparable Losses"]

[Text] "Our people have experienced more grief and suffering during these years than other countries experience in centuries." That is how Imamali Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Supreme Council of Tajikistan, assessed the gravity of the past two years in an interview with a KHOVAR agency correspondent on the occasion of the republic's Independence Day, celebrated 9 September.

The senseless fratricidal war, unleashed by a group of adventurers, he said, has cost tens of thousands of human lives. Indeed the losses are irreparable. The republic has found itself cast back by many years. But the people have drawn the right conclusion from the tragic events and bitter lessons of history, and they have resolutely and unequivocally gotten down to building a genuinely democratic secular society.

The republic has become a full member of the United Nations and the CSCE, and has joined the Economic Cooperation Organization, the Islamic Conference, the IMF, and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Many important changes are occurring within the country. The main one is the termination of civil war and the return of a significant proportion of refugees to their native places of residence. Within a short space of time, we have managed to restore the local organs of power and establish relative law and order. Work in the republic ministries, state committees, and departments has been normalized. A phased transfer to various forms of ownership is being implemented.

As Imamali Rakhmanov noted, economic ties with the former Union republics are being established with difficulty. The shortage of fuels and lubricants, the difficulties with funding, and the violation of bank ties are hindering the stabilization of the country's economy.

The question of the situation on the border is at the focus of attention of the leadership of Tajikistan. The chairman of the republic's Supreme Council said: "I would like to stress that the question of the reinforcement of the Tajik-Afghan border is of particular concern to the majority of countries which belong to the CIS; it is legally considered to be the external border of the Commonwealth countries."

The problem of the border was one of the main issues at talks with Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani, president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. Imamali Rakhmanov noted. The Afghan president, like all of the republic's population, is really concerned about the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border. As of today we have guarantees of the prevention of new conflicts and attacks on our border posts. This primarily means the treaty with the Russian Federation, signed 26 May 1993. The treaty will help reinforce and protect the southern borders of the CIS, and the Russian Federation will provide assistance in creating our republic's armed forces.

Our thankful people are grateful to the fraternal countries of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan for their invaluable assistance in resolving many problems, including border problems. Battalions from these countries are serving together with the Russian border guards along the southern borders.

Diplomatic channels are also being used to these ends. Our talks in Kabul have shown that the Afghan leadership realizes the extent to which the problems of the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in Afghanistan and Tajikistan are interlinked. B. Rabbani agreed that we should work on this problem together. All countries in the Central Asian region are interested in this. I hope that, through our joint efforts, we will succeed in preventing the development of conflicts on the border. Particularly since no one is interested in them today.

We are now experiencing great difficulties, but I believe that a new pinnacle in the growth of the Tajik economy and culture is ahead. The countries of the world community are granting us credits. It is only a question of disposing of them sensibly and using them advantageously and effectively.

Further on 'Conversation'

LD0909215893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1422 GMT 9 Sep 93

["Conversation" with Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Sharipovich Rakhmanov by correspondent Bunafsha Odinayeva; place and date not given; from the "Tajikistan Today" program—recorded]

[Text] [Odinayeva] I want to congratulate you as head of state on our republic's Independence Day, and I want to ask you what results there are to mark the second anniversary.

[Rakhmanov] Thank you. I congratulate you too, but there is no secret about how that independence was given to us; it came mainly as a result of the disintegration of the Union, and the youngest states had just found their feet when civil war, as it were, began.

For the Tajik people this independence really was the most precious thing. But, even so, the results of the two years show that the people of Tajikistan will really be able to develop independently and to revive the economy. What we have been feeling for the past months and in recent times is very, I would say, the republic's

economy is on such a level that there is nowhere to go that is lower, and all this really does have an effect on price rises, especially those of consumer goods and food, the prices of which recently had to be raised.

I think all this is temporary. The people of Tajikistan will be able to revive the economy independently with their own hands and their own strength. We have reserves, large reserves, and, above all, for the whole people of Tajikistan the most important thing is peace on Tajik soil.

[Odinayeva] Things are now very disturbed on the border. What can you say about the situation?

[Rakhmanov] I'll put it this way. It is not the border that existed on 1 January or in December last year. The border is closed, closed by the joint battalions of the CIS countries. We created an army on 23 February this year as a second echelon to support the border guards. In other words, the border has been strengthened. The border is now strengthened with technical means and does not permit a single violator, I would say, to break through to our territory. We will continue to do everything possible to see that it is, as they say, under lock and key.

[Odinayeva] How would you describe the present social and political situation in the republic?

[Rakhmanov] In fact, a lot has been achieved in a very short time, but many problems remain. We have managed to get over 600,000 refugees to return home, and to stop the bloodbath throughout Tajikistan, with the exception of some occasional, as it were, conflicts at the state border. We are restoring the national economy. During these events, almost 60 percent of our national economy was destroyed, as were over 150,000 residential dwellings, that's excluding schools, hospitals, bridges, and roads. Tremendous damage was inflicted on the republic's health care infrastructure and transport industry. Currently there is some production growth in all areas, primarily in agriculture and industry.

[Odinayeva] What are the priorities of Tajikistan's foreign policy in the world community and in the CIS?

[Rakhmanov] We are primarily strengthening our links with CIS countries, especially with the Russian Federation and the Central Asian region. We also attribute great importance to bilateral mutually advantageous relations with the Asian region. The third priority of our policy is developing relations with countries of the European and American continents.

[Rakhmanov] As a young state, Tajikistan cannot be, how should I put it, Switzerland or Kuwait or some other country. In other words, it cannot develop according to a pattern established by some other countries. We have chosen our own way. I would say that it is the construction of a lawful, secular, and democratic state. We do not intend to build an Islamic or a communist society. After our constitutional government was elected at the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet, we are unambiguously set on the idea that we have no other way.

[Odinayeva] What do you wish the people of Tajikistan?

[Rakhmanov] First of all, I would like to wish my people peace, happiness, and well-being.

[Odinayeva] This is the reality of Tajikistan. This is exactly why our people have already made their choice by decisively taking the path toward a genuine democratization of society. No distinction is being made between the nationalities living in the republic. Each nationality's historic traditions are taken into account.

Uzbekistan

European Commission Opens Office in Tashkent

LD0809164693 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1101 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] A regional office of the European Commission opened in Tashkent today. Staff from this influential international organization have already been working for a year in Uzbekistan, technically assisting the process of privatization, developing the financial system, training human resources, reforming agriculture, and supporting small- and medium- size business.

(Vibeke Andersen), a European Commission representative, declared at the opening ceremony that these areas will remain a priority also in the future. Specific projects for 1993-94, on which the European Commission has already allocated about 25 million ecus, include help for private farmers of the Fergana and Syrdarya oblasts, development of new oil and gas and telecommunications strategies, training of air traffic controllers, and the organization of "twinned hospitals."

Uzbekistan is the last country of Central Asia in which a European Commission mission has opened. (Olivier Alle), head of the European Commission mission in Uzbekistan, reported that their overall annual budget amounts to 500 million ecus. The distribution of money among the countries of Central Asia depends on the numbers of population in each of them.

Armenia

'Text' of Protest Over Ukrainian Arms Supply to Azerbaijan

NC0909181793 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] The text of the diplomatic note sent by the Armenian Foreign Ministry to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry has been received in Minsk. The note says:

Reliable sources have reported that Ukraine has been sending large amounts of military hardware to Azerbaijan since (?the beginning of) September, including military aircraft and new types of tanks. The tanks are airlifted to Azerbaijan.

This fact runs counter to the international community's efforts to find a peaceful resolution to the Karabakh conflict and violates Article 10 of UN Security Council Resolution 853, which calls on all the countries to refrain from supplying any weapons to the conflicting sides that might further escalate the conflict.

Positively assessing the dialogue that has resumed between Stepanakert and Baku and using every means to implement the cease- fire agreement, the Armenian Foreign Ministry believes such actions could harm the already visible, tangible movement toward normalizing the situation in the region.

We believe the military assistance provided by Ukraine to Azerbaijan may endanger the security of our compatriots living in Nagorno-Karabakh. In the climate of expanding friendship, such action creates extreme suspicion and puts the traditional friendship between our peoples in doubt.

Based on this, the Armenian Foreign Ministry expresses its protest to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry and demands an appropriate explanation.

The text of the note was also sent to the United Nations [words indistinct], the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, the joint consultative group working within the framework of the European Conventional Arms Reduction Convention, and to the CIS (?organs).

Foreign Minister Replies to Christopher Letter on Karabakh

LD0909150193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Armenian Foreign Minister Vakhan Papazyan has sent a letter of reply to the U.S. secretary of state in which he says he shared the alarm being experienced by the authorities in Washington at the military activities of Karabakh forces operating outside Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenia, the minister said, will continue to take whatever practical steps it can to impress on the Nagorno-Karabakh authorities the possibility of—the importance of—fulfilling the UN Security Council resolution and to make sure that Stepanakert plays a constructive part in the peace process. This approach has already produced results. Among other things, the Karabakh side has withdrawn its forces from Kubatlinskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan.

According to the Armenian foreign minister, Yerevan also played a role in getting a dialogue started between Baku and Stepanakert, a direct result of which was the extension of the temporary cease-fire and the halting of offensive operations.

Foreign Minister, Iranian Envoy Discuss Karabakh

LD0909192393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1735 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan September 9 TASS—An Iranian envoy presented Armenian Foreign Minister Vagan Papazyan with a letter from his Iranian counterpart 'Ali Akbar Velayati on Thursday [9 September].

In the letter, Velayati expressed concern about the escalation of tension in Nagorno-Karabakh and activities of Nagorno-Karabakh self-defence forces.

Papazyan informed the envoy about the Armenian leadership's position and measures that are being taken to ease tension and boost peace process. He handed over to the envoy statements by the Nagorno-Karabakh leaders in which they pledged to stop combat activities in Azerbaijan.

Both sides stated that Armenia and Iran have always had good- neighbourly relations and will continue them, and agreed to do everything possible in order that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh did not affect them.

Commentary Views Diplomatic 'Offensive' Against Karabakh

NC0909202093 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1830 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Station commentary by Mavr Danielyan]

[Text] The Moscow chimes of Azerbaijani-Turkish diplomacy have been chiming loudly against Nagorno-Karabakh on the international airwaves for the past few days.

The entire propaganda machine and all the levers of diplomatic, economic, and political pressure have been put into effect to bring Karabakh to its knees.

Moscow radio and television reported that the talks envisaged between the representatives of Karabakh and Azerbaijan for yesterday have now been indefinitely postponed due to the change in the situation.

The large portrait of Geydar Aliyev hasn't been off Moscow television screens in the past few days. Aliyev is

shown kneeling before his former personal rival at the Politburo Boris Yeltsin, shaking Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's hand, using flattery, promising Defense Minister Grachev to place the Ganja military base and the Caspian fleet under Russian control again, (?giving) guarantees to protect Russia's southern border and Russia's interest in this region in return for the withdrawal of Russian protection for Armenia and promising Prime Minister Chernomyrdin to enter the CIS. He is doing everything to pit the powerful Russia against the tiny Karabakh.

To strike while the iron is hot, the beautiful Tansu Ciller joined Azerbaijan's Moscow offensive, mixing the craftiness of the centuries-old Turkish diplomatic experience with her womanly charms.

Again, striking while the iron is hot, at the moment of this strange, fierce offensive, U.S. Secretary of State Christopher's message arrived in Armenia from across the ocean. He wrote to the Armenian authorities asking them to use every means available to bring Nagorno-Karabakh to its senses for not pursuing a flexible policy.

Then, reports started to circulate that Ukraine was sending military hardware and assistance to Azerbaijan.

All these things are being done against the little Karabakh of 200,000 people, emaciated in the national liberation struggle.

The Armenian foreign minister's reply to Christopher enumerates the truth. Let us hope that all the sides interested in the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict will listen to it.

Situation Reportedly 'Relatively Peaceful'

NC0909152393 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1330 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now report on the latest events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The 10-day cease-fire agreement between Azerbaijan and the NKR will end tomorrow. As we reported earlier, talks were to be held in Moscow to extend the cease-fire, but they were not held. [passage omitted]

It is not known why they were not held, but there is reason to believe that the NKR leaders are determined to maintain the cease- fire and find a peaceful solution to the problems and disputes.

The situation on the NKR's frontlines has been relatively peaceful during the past 10 days. The sides have generally heeded the cease-fire agreement, but Azerbaijan's military forces have fired sporadically on NKR residential areas and defense positions with various types of arms. Complying with the cease-fire agreement, the Armenian side refrained from retaliating against Azerbaijan's provocation. The NKR's defense positions in Martuni and Fizuli were fired on with mortars and other arms the night before last. No one was hurt. The Armenian side did not retaliate.

Azerbaijan's military positions in Zangelanskiy Rayon heavily pounded NKR military positions in the south of the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon with Grad rockets and long-range artillery on 7 September. We have received no accurate reports on casualties.

Reports we received a short time ago say the situation on the NKR's frontlines is relatively peaceful. No significant incident has occurred.

The Armenian Defense Ministry has revealed that no incident has occurred on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan in the past day.

Undoubtedly, had it not been for political ambitions, the situation would have stabilized gradually and an appropriate atmosphere would have been created for talks between the two sides.

Opposition Parties Compile 'Alternative' Constitution

NC0909180393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1319 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan, September 9 (SNARK)—Today the six leading Armenian opposition parties passed an alternative draft of Armenian Constitution to the Parliament Presidium.

This constitutional draft is radically differs with its official option that was prepared by the Constitutional Commission and brought for national discussion.

The alternative draft was signed by representatives of the Armenian revolutionary federation "Dashnaktsutyun", the Liberal Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, the Agriculture Party and the "Constitutional Right" Union.

The representative of these parties announced on unacceptability of the official Constitution draft which gives to the president practically unlimited powers even to break up Parliament.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev's 8 Sep Moscow News Conference Viewed

PM0909142593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 1

[Igor Lenskiy report: "Two Hours Before a Map. Big Maneuvers by Geydar Aliyev"]

[Text] In the next few days 10,000 Iranians will cross the Iranian-Azerbaijani border along the Araks River to evacuate 100,000 refugees who are fleeing the areas of Azerbaijan which are occupied by the Armenian detachments.

Encampments will be set up for them in the border provinces of Iran, Geydar Aliyev reported at yesterday's meeting with the press on the results of his visit to Moscow. Obviously, a sovereign state has the right to decide independently who should be allowed across its own border and how. And in this sense, G. Aliyev's decision does not go beyond the framework of his powers. However, the appearance in the combat zone of a mass landing party from a foreign state, even with the most humane aims, but without a mandate previously agreed by the conflicting sides, is undoubtedly fraught with the possibility of explosive consequences. And the "splinters" may be scattered far beyond the Transcaucasus. Unfortunately, G. Aliyev disregarded official Moscow's negative reaction to such an unusual operation.

It is particularly strange given that, according to G. Aliyev, Azerbaijan's entry into the CIS can be considered an accomplished fact. And not only into the CIS, but also into all of its alliances, including the defensive alliance.

G. Aliyev repeated insistently that war has already been waged for over five years between Azerbaijan and Armenia (but not Nagorno-Karabakh). Speaking of the reasons for this, Aliyev refrained from making any accusations against the neighboring republic, pinning all the responsibility upon the political leadership of the USSR of that time. At this stage, Aliyev is not prepared to recognize the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic as an independent party to the conflict, which, as we know, is what the Karabakh leaders are striving for as a main condition of dialogue. Since neither the Armenians nor the Azerbaijanis intend to move to the other side of the world, G. Aliyev is convinced that enlightenment will come and they will nevertheless have to live side by side in peace and accord. For the time being, however, standing before a geographical map, he is demanding the withdrawal of troops from the occupied areas.

We have recently been hearing less and less frequently about Surat Guseynov, whose name had been on everyone's lips until recently. G. Aliyev did not make a single mention of him in this 40-minute introductory lecture either. Your correspondent wondered what had happened to the young hero, how Geydar Aliyev assesses his activity in the post of prime minister, and whether he intends to cooperate with him in the future. Instead of answering, Aliyev reprimanded me: "Why are you asking me such a provocative question?" The east is obviously a touchy place. Relations within the political elite are delicate. So why then did Aliyev reveal to journalists the juicy details of his strictly private conversation with Elchibey? To strike a man when he is down?

In conclusion, Aliyev declared that he is in favor of reforms.

"But only in favor of considered, smooth ones, producing a real result in the sense of improving people's lives. But not in favor of reform for the sake of reform, which is being done in certain places," Aliyev said with a smile.

Keeps 'Silent' on Some Issues

PM0909145993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Yevtushenko report: "What Geydar Aliyev Kept Silent About"]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev held a press conference in the President Hotel yesterday. After a fairly detailed account of his visit to Moscow and the situation in the republic, the acting head of Azerbaijan replied to numerous questions from reporters, including KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's correspondent.

Questions which Geydar Aliyev did not answer:

Is it true that Iranian Army subunits crossed the border with Azerbaijan and took custody of a reservoir in Fizulinskiy Rayon?

Was there an agreement with Boris Yeltsin to station Russian troops and military bases on Azerbaijani territory in the event of the republic's joining the CIS?

What is your attitude to the method by which Prime Minister Surat Guseynov came to power?

Is accord with Armenia a possibility once Azerbaijan joins the CIS?

As for future relations between Azerbaijan and Russia, here Geydar Aliyev admitted: A number of mistakes and distortions had been committed by both the Russian and Azerbaijani leaderships recently. The time has come to correct these mistakes.

During his visit the chairman of the Azerbaijani National Assembly had a one-on-one conversation with Boris Yeltsin and spoke to Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian parliament, and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. An accord was reached under which Russia will make a more substantial contribution to resolving Azerbaijan's problems. Especially through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense.

This addendum provoked a number of questions about a possible strengthening of the Russian military presence in Azerbaijan. To this Aliyev replied: "I cannot tell you everything Boris Nikolayevich and I agreed on. There are secret elements."

The most successful answer, judging by the audience's reaction, was that to the question: "Will a peaceful concept of settling the conflict with Armenia not lose you several thousand votes at the forthcoming elections?"

"Don't worry," Aliyev reassured the questioner, "there will be votes. That I promise you."

Returns From Moscow Trip

NC0909190793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Acting President Geydar Aliyev's visit to Moscow ended on 9 September, when he returned to Baku. State Secretary Lale Shovket Gadzhiyev, Prime Minister Surat Guseynov, and other officials welcomed him at the airport.

Former Envoy to Russia Appeals to Ministry After Beating

NC0909183493 Baku TURAN in English 1410 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 9 (TURAN)—Police department in 9 of Sabail District of Baku holds an inquest [as received] in connection with the fact that former Ambassador of Azerbaijan in Russia Hikmet Gadzhizadeh have been badly beaten in the seaside park near the cinema Bahar. To the words of the victim his former acquaintance lawyer Ramiz Zeynalov was the instigator of his assault and battery. The criminals making sure that H. Gadzhizadeh was the former ambassador, started beating him. H. Gadzhizadeh appealed the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan, the Procurator's Office, the Police Headquarters of Baku and the Procurator's Office of Sabail District with a complaint.

Foreign Ministry Statement Views Remarks by Ter-Petrosyan

NC0909170493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1300 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement on President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's revelations about the cease-fire agreement between Azerbaijan and Karabakh's ruling circles. The statement said:

President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's revelations have [words indistinct] in the UN Security Council. Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry urges President Levon Ter-Petrosyan to conscientiously assess the incidents and the gradual distortion of their cause and effect and notes: Ter-Petrosyan has tried to portray the Armenian military forces fighting in Azerbaijan as Karabakh's self-defense forces that are not linked with Armenia. He has claimed that they are the forces Azerbaijan is fighting. President Ter-Petrosyan has made a [words indistinct] effort to dissociate Armenia from the military operations in Azerbaijan and the occupation of our republic and to describe Armenia as a country trying to help settle the dispute, despite Armenia causing it.

The statement described Ter-Petrosyan's remarks as propaganda aimed at concealing the heightening military operations carried out by the Armenian military units, which have occupied Azerbaijan's Kubatlinskiy Rayon and violated the cease-fire agreement. The statement said reference to claims about supposed attacks by Azerbaijan's military units cannot justify the activities of the military units Armenia has deployed in Azerbaijan.

The statement said Azerbaijan has used its legal right to defend itself, its sovereignty, and its territorial integrity against aggression—a right that is enshrined in the UN Charter. Azerbaijan has called for an end to bloodshed and for the peaceful settlement of the dispute.

The statement added:

The Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that Armenia alone is responsible for violating the cease-fire agreement and disrupting negotiations. Armenia's military forces maintain their attacks and still occupy Azerbaijan's territory.

Armenian Attacks in Zangelanskiy Updated

NC0909143393 Baku TURAN in English 1410 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 9 (TURAN)—Last night and this morning Armenian units have made several attempts to attack the positions of Azeri Armed Forces near Muganli village of Zangelanskiy Region. The attacks have been undertaken from occupied by Armenians village of Hanlik of Kubatlinskiy Region of Azerbaijan. In the result of the taken measures the attack had been repelled.

Last evening Armenian artillery held fights of Sadarak district from Araratskiy Region of Armenia. There are some damages.

Georgia

Fifth Round of Russian-Georgian Talks Begin

Russians Seen Lacking 'Clear' Program

MK0809094293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Sep 93 p 3

[Guga Lolishvili report under the "Georgia" rubric: "From Ice Ages to Greenhouse Effects. Fifth Round of Russian-Georgian Talks Begins in Tbilisi"]

[Text] The fifth round of Russian-Georgian talks officially began 7 September, but on Monday [6 September] evening government delegations were already meeting at the Georgian Foreign Ministry. As in previous rounds, Feliks Kovalev headed the Russian delegation. It included representatives of the Economy Ministry, the State Committee for Economic Cooperation, the Federal Migration Service, the border troops, and also a group of officials from various agencies at the Russian Defense Ministry. According to Feliks Kovalev, Colonel General Aleksandr Galkin, chief of the armored troops administration, will arrive in Tbilisi on Wednesday.

During this round the two sides will once again discuss a whole package of agreements drawn up during the Moscow and Tbilisi rounds to hammer out the definitive

version. Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze, who attended the opening of the talks on Monday, expressed the hope that the fifth round would be final and that signing a treaty between Russia and Georgia afterward could be considered. Feliks Kovalev said that the Russian side planned to raise between 16 and 18 contentious issues.

Although Tbilisi perceives this round as conclusive, it appears that Moscow is not yet prepared to sign a comprehensive treaty with Georgia. A certain insistency apparent in Foreign Minister Chikvaidze's talk about the drawn-out negotiations and the need to wind them up by the fifth round, as well as Kovalev's similar determination to evade specific answers, showed some initial contradictions determining the two sides' difference of views. The 18 contentious issues mentioned by the Russian delegation chief, in turn, demonstrated that Russia was going to pull a diplomatic trick in order to buy time. Four preceding rounds gave plenty of opportunities to discuss not only 18 "contentious issues" but as many as 318. As for Tbilisi's stance, it is plainly evident. The Georgian authorities are interested in pushing through a treaty with Russia that would at least smooth out, if not remove, the Russian- Georgian differences that are presently much more inconvenient for Georgia than for Russia. Besides, by concluding a treaty, Russia will undoubtedly tie its hands to some extent with regard to Georgia and will not be able to interfere in the republic's internal affairs so obviously, as has happened more than once, by citing conflicts on its southern borders and the need to protect the Russian-speaking population.

Russia's definitive stance on the Georgian factor is still somewhat unclear. It appears that the Kremlin still wavers back and forth in choosing an appropriate policy. Continuing zigzags in Russian-Georgian relations—from ice ages to unexpectedly emerging greenhouse effects—confirm that the Russian authorities lack a clear and balanced political program with regard to Georgia.

Some Agreements Complete

LD0909133793 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1145 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Sep (IBERIA-NEGA)—The fifth round of the Russian-Georgian negotiations are continuing at the Georgian Foreign Ministry. The two sides are working on the agreement package between the two countries. Leader of the Russian delegation Feliks Kovalev said that a number of agreements had already been fully worked out and were ready to be signed. Among them is one of the most important agreements on establishing good-neighborly relations between the two states.

In addition, the text of the military agreement on the status of the Russian border troops on the Georgian territory has been worked out. Kovalev expressed satisfaction over the fifth round of negotiations.

Head of UN Military Observer Group Arrives in Abkhazia

LD0909185493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1830 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Sukhumi September 9 ITAR-TASS—Brigadier General John Videgaard, head of the group on U.N. military observers, arrived in Abkhazia on Thursday. The aim of his arrival is to study the situation in the zone of the conflict. In accordance with the U.N. Security Council decision the number of military observers from this international organization in Abkhazia has been increased up to 88. Together with them, a 100-strong group of technical personnel will come to Abkhazia. Part of the personnel will be taken from local residents.

As is known, an advance group of U.N. military observers headed by Major Chris Colby came to Abkhazia earlier. Members of this group have been actively cooperating with temporary control groups set up on a tripartite basis.

Government Discusses Cooperation With Germany's Siemens

LD0809170393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Excerpts] According to CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY, the Georgian Council of Ministers met with representatives of the German firm Siemens today. The Siemens representatives are on a three-day visit to Georgia.

(Mr. Birch), chief of the Siemens department for economic development of Eastern countries, noted that a technical agreement on cooperation in energy, engineering, medicine, and transport is envisaged. [passage omitted]

Industry Minister Tengiz Geleishvili said 10 Georgian enterprises have already been chosen to cooperate with Siemens.

Working groups were set up at the meeting, and the German firm's representatives will continue specific work in relevant ministries and enterprises.

Foreign Minister Chikvaidze Arrives in Austria

LD0909210993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1420 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kuzmin]

[Excerpts] Vienna, 9 Sep—[passage omitted] In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, [Georgian Foreign Minister] Aleksandr Chikvaidze said the aim of his visit to Austria is to hold specific talks with Austrian leaders, and to examine the possibilities of breathing life into economic and political contact between the two countries. Georgia has an active foreign policy, including

striving to develop cooperation with all countries of the world and broaden political, economic, and cultural links.

The minister commented on the importance of Russia's intermediary efforts in the regulatory process in the Caucasus, emphasizing that Georgia is striving to develop fruitful links with the Russian Federation.

Negotiations Between Supreme Council, Ajarian Leadership

LD0909201593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Excerpts] As we have reported, on the initiative of the chairman of the Ajara Supreme Council, Aslan Abashidze, negotiations between a delegation of the Georgian Supreme Council and members of the former Supreme Council of the republic began in Kobuleti [resort north of Batumi, Ajara] on 8 September. [passage omitted]

The talks are being held behind closed doors. The discussion of the issue of blocked routes presumably had to be held in the presence of journalists, but the discussion of this issue seems to have been postponed. Despite bans, we have learnt certain things.

Participants in the talks put forward a number of issues, namely, those on demilitarizing the region, separating armed forces, and establishing a commission to study an incident that occurred in Gali [Abkhazia]. As Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters pointed out, they were for the peaceful tackling of the conflict, and did not even submit the idea on the division of Georgia.

Making a brief commentary, Aslan Abashidze said: The opposing sides have sat at the table for talks. This means that a large step to escape a tense situation created in Samegrelo has been made. However difficult, I think a mutual agreement can be reached.

The negotiations continue.

Council Chairman Comments on Talks

LD0909222393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2120 GMT 9 Sep 93

[By GIA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Kobuleti, 10 Sep—Negotiations continued yesterday in Kobuleti between representatives of the previous and current administrations of Georgia.

"The sides have acknowledged that the current situation in western Georgia is a threat to the country's independence. They have come to a conclusion that troops should be withdrawn from western Georgia without any delay, and the blockade of roads should be lifted. A recent statement by the Russian Federation Foreign Affairs Ministry, on the fact of bringing Loti Kobalia's armed formations to Gali, and the seizure of armor which was due to be withdrawn from Abkhazia, was also considered. It was decided to create a commission whose members will go to Gali and check these allegations," stated Ajarian Supreme Council Chairman Aslan Abashidze, commenting on the event.

There is a threat in western Georgia that the whole republic will be engulfed into a civil war, Aslan Abashidze continued, "and therefore, the results of the negotiations must become some kind of a basis on which the future of Georgia could be built. The true fact is that there are two belligerent sides in the republic, and it will be impossible to achieve peace without searching for compromises that would allow us to find a way out from the present situation. The events in the Tskhinvali region of Abkhazia have already brought us proof of this."

Ajaria's Abashidze Grants Interview

PM0909143793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Sep 93 p 2

[Interview with Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Ajaria Supreme Soviet, by Captain Valeriy Russu and Captain Vitaliy Denisov; place and date not given: "Aslan Abashidze: I Am Not the Kind of Person Who Jumps Into an Empty Pool. Eleven Questions for the Chairman of the Ajaria Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Aslan Ibragimovich, Ajaria is often called an oasis of calm. Against the background of the complex social and political situation in Georgia, it displays a marked internal stability. What is the Ajar phenomenon, in fact?

[Abashidze] No doubt you have seen for yourselves that, against the background of a Georgia rent by contradictions, Ajaria has the appearance of an island that has not been infected with the bacilli of ethnic and religious strife.

But we have not solved all our problems here. There are some—by no means the finest representatives of our people—who regard people of other nations and ethnic groups as guests in our land. But they are not guests. They are the same equal citizens with whom we trod the roads of war and creative endeavor and who lived and still live the same life as us. Until everyone appreciates this, we will not be able to aspire to the role of a civilized, genuinely democratic state.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] So the Ajar oasis could turn out to be a mere mirage?

[Abashidze] I make no secret of the fact that on the territory of Ajaria there exists the possibility of an explosion or the emergence of a new seat of tension. The dynamite has been set. But we are keeping a firm hold on the detonator of this explosive device. If the bomb does go off, Georgia will not be able to take it.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In your opinion, what has caused the present crisis in Georgia?

[Abashidze] The forces that came to power in Georgia after the collapse of the USSR were motivated by patriotic ideals, but they had neither a thoroughly considered, properly calculated political and economic platform, nor the experience of governing a state. The desire to change everything instantly turned into mere destruction of the old edifice. Radicalism, based on national-populist and subjective considerations and disregard for existing realities, led to the severing of political and economic links. Economic relations that had taken decades to establish with republics that were part of the former Union, mainly with Russia, broke down, when it was virtually impossible to replace them with new ones and devise a different platform in a short time. The effectively self-imposed economic isolation also had destructive consequences. This was complicated by the self-imposed financial blockade, due to the introduction of a new monetary unit which was clearly doomed, with nothing to back it up.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Can one say, then, that the Ajar leadership has a special position on this?

[Abashidze] We have all entered the realm of the unaceptable. But in the present situation Ajaria is not only maintaining its former links, it is also expanding and strengthening them. Particularly with Russia—in this case we are thoroughly integrated politically, economically, culturally, and spiritually...

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Mr. Chairman, you are often accused of being pro-Russian. In this connection, we will take the liberty of mentioning one of your recent pronouncements: "Russia can live without Georgia, but Georgia will find it hard-going without Russia"...

[Abashidze] I am not a man who changes his views, particularly on such a fundamental question. Anyway, what does "accuse" mean? I see the position of those who "accuse" me of being pro-Russian as the position of sick people. I do not have a relationship with them and I pay no attention to what they say—it is a doctor's job to deal with the sick. But, unfortunately, the disease is infectious. And I would warn you that forces preaching an extreme, radical policy vis-a-vis Russia are willy-nilly helping to activate reaction and are creating a threat to actual Georgian statehood.

It is time it was realized that the face of Moscow is not the face of the enemy, but the face of a friend. I repeat, there is too much that binds us together. Above all, a common destiny. Indeed, despite all the difficulties in relations between the two states, none of the attempts to bring about a head-on collision was due to confrontion between the peoples themselves—between Russians and Georgians. And that says a great deal. Although there are things to consider. If we continue to build relations as we are doing today, we will be instilling in the new generation such hatred of one another that it will take thousands of years to dispel it. To avoid this would be the wisest thing to do.

It is gratifying for me to see that official Georgian policy is going that way now. The scene is set for the signing of a major treaty with Russia. As I see it, the only solution is to be friends with it. But this certainly does not mean, as some believe, a loss of sovereignty and independence. There is no need to be frightened of friendship. If it is sincere it is everlasting.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Aslan Ibragimovich, Russia is represented in Ajaria primarily by the servicemen of the division that is stationed there. But attitudes in Georgia vary concerning the presence of Russian forces...

[Abashidze] As for Ajaria, the division stationed here is a guarantor of peace and tranquillity in the region. The Russian-speaking population constitutes a large part of the autonomous republic's population. Like it or not, it is "attached" to the Russian garrison. If the division goes, an irreversible process of migration will begin, and this will hit Georgia most of all, not Russia. We realize that. So we are trying to preserve the established business, economic, and other links with the formation's command and are trying to do everything necessary to ensure normal service and normal lives for the Russian military and their families.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] But certain people in Georgia sometimes say that the conflicts in autonomous entities are due to the presence of Russian forces. I would like to take a somewhat broader look at this question. The problems of the autonomous entities are something that is worrying not only Georgia at the moment. How do you view their status and rights?

[Abashidze] When they talk about autonomous entities as explosive devices planted in the republics, I cannot agree. As I see it, an autonomous entity is above all an administrative unit within a state. And that is it. These administrative units have to exist. This situation has developed over centuries. Other states as well as Georgia were created out of scattered principalities, lands, and so on.

Even now there are many states in the world that were established on a federal basis. They are now in turmoil. This is due to a balanced policy, proven over decades, between the center and, shall we say, the regions. We have not gotten there yet, unfortunately.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] And the problem of separatism?

[Abashidze] The problem of separatism certainly exists. But, in my view, the sources of separatism are to be found not in the regions or autonomous entities, but in the center's destructive and sometimes criminal policy with regard to them. This involves attempts to dictate its own terms, interference in the solution of cadre questions, and strongarm pressure.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Do you think this is the origin of the conflict in Abkhazia?

[Abashidze] This is part of it. Suffice it to say that the leadership of our autonomous republic once tried to demonstrate that it was futile and destructive to introduce Georgian forces into Abkhazia. They did not listen to us. The forces are now being withdrawn. What did the year-long armed conflict achieve? Did it enhance Abkhazia's or Georgia's sovereignty? No. Aside from several thousand dead and around 150,000 refugees, it did nothing for the two peoples. You have to add to that tens of thousands of dishonored, destitute families... What has happened is is absolutely horrifying.

The policy now is: The worse it gets, the better. Actions display no morality. The time will come when all the culprits will be in the dock. Perhaps it will be trial by history rather than by people's assessors. That is even more terrifying.

We created all this ourselves. So there is no need to look for a third force. We are to blame for everything. And we must have the courage to take responsibility for our actions.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] But you have been offered the post of prime minister of Georgia on several occasions...

[Abashidze] I am not the kind of person who jumps into an empty pool.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] OK then, Aslan Ibragimovich, make a political forecast for Georgia.

[Abashidze] Georgia is in for an even worse time, unless there is a radical change in state policy—domestic and foreign. This frightens me. We have not learned from our bitter experience. We had the Ossetian question, the Abkhaz question was embarked on... We are well on the way to having a similar situation in Mingrelia. Ajaria has faced repeated threats, strongarm pressure, hints that the autonomous status would be annulled, and so on. Obviously, this is disturbing.

'Starving' Tkibuli Miners Go on Strike

AU1009065493 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 1

[Maiya Kavtarashvili article: "Tkibuli: The Strike Continues"]

[Text] Not so long ago, a wave of rallies and strikes swept over the miners' town of Tkibuli [western Georgia]. It would seem that all, or almost all, of the demands of the strikers had been satisfied, including the appointment of a new town mayor.

However, on 23 August, a new bed of discontent arose. On this occasion, the Mindeli mine assumed the role of initiator. Other collectives soon joined it.

A meeting was held the same day between Ushangi Gurgenidze, the new town head, and the strike committee. Other top-level officials, including Kita Kiziriya, chairman of the "Gruzugol" department, were also present at the meeting.

The miners stated that their families and they themselves were already on the brink of starvation and, to all intents and purposes, were starving. Judge for yourselves: 400 grams of bread per person working underground. They presented a number of basic demands, including a wage increase to correspond with the purchasing power of the coupon, the delivery of essential food products to the town, the supply of materials and machinery to the mines, including special clothing and soap, an increase in pensions, and granting Tkibuli the status of a mining town and all the privileges proceeding from this.

On 24 August, the town leaders arrived in Tbilisi and met with the chiefs of a number of branches of the republic's national economy in the office of [Deputy Prime Minister] Zurab Kervalishvili.

As U. Gurgenidze, the mayor of Tkibuli, informed us, K. Kiziriya, the chairman of the "Gruzugol" department, stated he was ready to resign. There was a businesslike and frank conversation concerning the situation that had taken shape. An official document was adopted in which ways and deadlines for implementing the necessary measures aimed at regulating the problems of the miners and the town of Tkibuli as a whole were outlined. The final deadline expires on 10 September.

On 26 August, the town's mayor informed those attending the rally about the aforementioned document. However, the miners, who obviously have had enough of promises and who have lost faith in pieces of paper, are demanding urgent and decisive measures, including the arrival of E. Shevardnadze in Chiatura.

Although the miners maintain that they do not have the conditions and actual opportunity to work normally, on which score it is difficult to disagree with them, one thing remains indisputable: The mines have not been working for a long time, even when unaffected by strike action. The same Mindeli mine extracted only 990 tonnes of coal during the first 23 days of August, whereas the daily norm is 550 tonnes. Similar unenviable statistics apply to other collectives as well.

The strike continues.

Miners End Strike

LD0909202893 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1750 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Tkibuli [coal] miners, who have been on strike since 23 August, have gone back to their mines because their principal demands have been met. These include a pay hike, improved working conditions, better material and technical supplies for the

mines, and an increase in miners' pensions. In accordance with the miners' demands, personnel policy has been revised. Several managing executives have been dismissed due to obvious failure to execute their duties.

National Democrats Demand Strict Measures on Law, Order

LD0909181893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1507 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] Today the presidium of the chief committee of the Georgian National Democratic Party made a statement regarding the situation in the western region of the republic. The statement includes the following demands:

1. To cut short the activities of unlawful armed gangs and punish infringers of the law;

2. To halt any talks with them until they return to initial positions and free the occupied areas;

3. To declare an emergency situation in Tbilisi, introduce a curfew, and three months long parliamentary holidays;

4. To speed up the process of signing the interstate treaty with Russia.

The statement says that more resolute and coordinated actions of the legal government must be directed toward the establishment of complete law, order, and discipline in the republic.

First Higher Military School Opens in Tbilisi

AU0909195893 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 1

[Viktoriya Inauri report under rubric "According to Reports From Correspondents and Information Agencies": "The Basis of a Professional Army Has Been Laid"]

[Excerpt] On 1 September, the first higher military school—the Combined Military School (CMS)—in the history of Georgia was opened on the base of the former Tbilisi Artillery Command School. There was a ceremonial parade and the cadets swore an oath. The most Holy and Beatific Iliya II, the catholicos-patriarch of all-Georgia, General Avtandil Tskitishvili, commander of the Main Command of the Georgian Armed Forces, Mikhail Ukleba, Georgian deputy minister of foreign affairs, Aleksandr Yakovlev, adviser at the Russian Embassy in Georgia, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Lee, military attache at the U.S. Embassy in Georgia, and others were present at the opening.

We asked some of these people to share their impressions with us.

Tengiz Shubladze, colonel, rector of the CMS:

This year, we admitted 190 students. The CMS is training tank crewmen, gunners, border guards, and officers for general military and internal troops. The studies last four years. We have also admitted 140 cadets.

Our aim is to teach the Georgian people discipline. The difference between the military school and other higher educational establishments is that, here, they do not do whatever they want however they want but what is essential for the motherland. The most important thing is that the basis of a professional army is being laid in the CMS.

[passage omitted]

Poll Shows Attitude to Parliament, Opposition

AU0909195793 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 1

["SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA Rapid Poll"]

[Text] Is it expedient to hold early parliamentary elections?
Expedient—31 percent
Not expedient—22 percent
It does not make any difference—31.7 percent
Don't know—15.3 percent

How do you assess the activities of the parliamentary opposition?
Positively—17.7 percent
Negatively—37.3 percent
Neutral—33 percent
Difficult to say—12 percent

Latvia

Russian Navy Chief Ends Visit to Latvia

LD0909161393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Text] Today saw the end of the visit to Riga by Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander of the Russian Navy. The guest met with Gaidis Zeibots, commander of the naval forces of Latvia. During the meeting they discussed issues concerning a more rapid withdrawal of the Baltic Fleet. Mr. Gromov visited Liepaja where he had a meeting with the leadership of the Russian Fleet's military base.

Spokesman Offers To Resume Talks With Russia Early

LD0909172593 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Text] Latvia is prepared to resume the negotiations with Russia on 14-15 September, BNS was told today by (Aivars Obers), deputy leader of the Latvian delegation. He also announced that depending on Russia's response the Latvian delegation is also prepared to resume negotiations on 28 September. However, because its members are busy, the talks may continue in that case until 29 September.

UN Conclusions on Russian Withdrawal From Baltics

LD0909192793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 93

[Text] The Latvian Embassy in Moscow reports that Tommy Koh, special envoy of the UN secretary general, has met with the Baltic countries' ambassadors to Russia in Moscow He particularly appreciated his friendly reception in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia and expressed his viewpoint on the main problems that each of them has to solve in talks with Russia. In Tommy Koh's view, there are three of them in Latvia: the final deadline for the withdrawal of the Russian army has yet to be determined; there is a lack of social guarantees for retired military personnel; and the status of three Russian strategic sites is to be determined.

The special envoy of the UN secretary general believes that the Russian naval base in Liepaja does not have a strategic nature; there is a lack of information about the Ventspils space monitoring station; but he does regard Skrunda [radar station] as strategically important to Russia.

Tommy Koh emphasized that the most complex situation is in Latvia, where there are 18,000 military personnel of the former USSR. In Estonia there are 4,500, but the withdrawal of troops from Lithuania was concluded on the eve of the pope's visit.

That was a quite important report from the Latvian Embassy in Moscow.

Pope John Paul II Arrives in Riga

WS0809132493 Riga LETA in English 1143 GMT 8 Sep 93

[Excerpt] Riga, September 8 (LETA)—On Wednesday [8 September] at 9:17 a.m. the head of the Roman Catholic Church and the state of Vatican, John Paul II, arrived in Riga. In the history of Latvia it is a first time the pope visited the republic. Upon arrival John Paul II stepped out of the plane and blessed the Latvian soil. He was welcomed by the President of Latvia, Guntis Ulmanis, and other secular and religious leaders as well as the foreign diplomats. The pope was accompanied by several top officials of the Roman Catholic Church and the state of Vatican. [passage omitted]

Lithuania

President in Hospital for 'Further Treatment'

WS0909135093 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1335 GMT 9 Sep 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 328]

[Text] Vilnius, Sept 8, ELTA—Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas after seeing off Pope John Paul II leaving for Latvia on Wednesday [8 September] returned to Antakalnis University hospital to undergo further treatment of his bile stone-disease [as received].

Editorial Notes Link Between Russian Withdrawal, U.S. Aid

WS1009071993 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 2 Sep 93 No. 169 p 4

[Editorial: "Army After Mephistopheles..."]

[Text] The Russian Army no longer has a formal presence in Lithuania. The defense minister mentioned certain groups, but he assessed them with a careless smile. However, the fact of the Russian Army withdrawal has not yet been legally documented. The country that so vigorously demanded the signing of a political agreement on withdrawal has apparently forgotten its recent claims. Neither Ambassador V. Isakov nor General Colonel L. Mayorov appeared in Vilnius, although all press agencies reported quite a bit about their supposed whereabouts. It turned out yesterday that V. Isakov was in Moscow and had no intention of coming to Vilnius. At least his Lithuanian counterpart V. Bulovas did not expect him.

At a government reception, one esteemed politician expressed sincere gratitude to U.S. Ambassador D. Johnson for his country's support in the withdrawal process. The ambassador accepted this appreciation kindly. It should not come as a surprise because Mr.

Johnson's car was seen sitting in front of the Seimas several mornings in succession. Nor should one doubt the U.S. influence because Russian Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin is expecting huge credits from Washington. When there is a question of money, "pure" politicians keep quiet and are reluctant to respond. This makes credible the assumption that the two presidents' telephone call was initiated by B. Yeltsin rather than A. Brazauskas. This would explain why members of the Seimas Foreign Affairs Committee learned about the withdrawal from radio announcements (!), why events on the last day of the pullout faltered, and why television reports "tossed" so much on the air. Lastly, this also explains Russia's delay in validating the withdrawal—why should it demonstrate its flexibility (or obedience?) to small Lithuania (or to the great United States?). These questions remain unanswered. According to the prevailing opinion in the Seimas, a document may be signed during the presidents' meeting in mid-September. This may happen even sooner. However, both sides have already calmed down and are anxious to hasten this issue, which was so recently a key obstacle.

M. Demurin, deputy director of the Russian Federation's Foreign Ministry Press and Information Department, stated at a briefing that "as soon as Russia receives a positive hint from its partner, it responds immediately." Events of the past several days suggest that a "positive hint" rather than Russia's good will, about which politicians spoke so much, decided everything. However, this reminds me more of Mephistopheles' words that "gold is our only master." One can even withdraw an Army for gold.

Budget Committee Chairman Criticizes Central Bank Policy

WS1009095993 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 2 Sep 93 No. 169 p 4

[Interview with Kestutis Jaskelevicius, chairman of the Seimas Budget and Finance Committee, by reporter Vida Danileviciute under the "Opinions" rubric; place and date not given: "Not Personalities But Their Deeds Are Important"]

[Text] Kestutis Jaskelevicius, chairman of the Seimas Budget and Finance Committee, is answering RESPUBLIKA reporter Vida Danileviciute's questions on economic and banking problems that are becoming "increasingly popular."

[Danileviciute] **Neither bankers nor industry, businessmen, or farmers have been satisfied with the recent policy of the Lithuanian Central Bank. How do the President's Office and the Budget Committee assess it?**

[Jaskelevicius] I think that the first mistake was made almost a year ago, when restrictions on credit interest for commercial banks were lifted—I proposed restricting interest much earlier. The current decision to impose restrictions is senseless because inflation has dropped to 3 percent. This restriction has put commercial banks in an awkward position. These banks have applied to the Seimas Budget Committee to revoke the decision on interest restriction. President A. Brazauskas is planning to call bankers for a meeting this week.

[Danileviciute] **What definite issues will be discussed?**

[Jaskelevicius] First of all, the aforementioned interest restrictions, credits for farmers, and payments. By the way, I must deny the rumor that the President's Office is considering new candidates for the post of Lithuanian Bank Board chairman. However, the story with the 20-million-litas credit for the "Litimpex" bank has greatly undermined the reputation of the Lithuanian Bank. I suppose that many people have already become bored with this case. However, the latter issue is still open, and the public is rightly expecting a response. The Prosecutor's Office is continuing the investigation which shows that the press was right.

[Danileviciute] **Does the Lithuanian Bank policy satisfy the Seimas, the president, and the Government?**

[Jaskelevicius] The Lithuanian Bank policy is bearing unexpected fruit. This causes us concern and compels us to seek solutions. I know President A. Brazauskas' stand—he is prone to replace one or another official as a last resort. I will not judge whether this is right or wrong.

[Danileviciute] **Who can propose something to the Lithuanian Bank, and what can be proposed?**

[Jaskelevicius] Both the Government and the Seimas have something to propose. The trouble is, however, that the Lithuanian Bank listens to no one's advice. I think that we should look for unconventional solutions in balancing the commodity and money supply. We hear daily complaints about the insolvency and indebtedness of enterprises. Working capital has decreased; thus, we must enlarge it in order to be able to extend excessive credits to enterprises that are often insolvent through no fault of their own. It is this fact that prevents the application of the bankruptcy law to such enterprises. The mandatory electronic debt tests conducted by the Lithuanian Bank were also inefficient—they were a vicious circle. That is why long-term credits for enterprises would challenge the problem of payments.

[Danileviciute] **However, opponents do not agree. What is their point?**

[Jaskelevicius] It is often said that issuing credit will boost inflation. I would not call this issuing—this is only a response to the money supply shortage; money will return to the banks. The acceleration of payments would resolve a number of social and economic problems. Many economists and enterprises approve of this.